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SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

March-April, 1934

FAMILY LIFE IN ANCIENT INDIA

R. E. BABER

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INDIA is a land of contrasts: the land of the holy Brahmin and the degrading untouchable, of magnificent wealth and unspeakable poverty, of Taj Mahal and mud hut. Yet in all India there is one thing on which prince and pauper agree—that sex is the central theme of life. India is the only civilized country where the phallic emblem is still respectable, nay sacred. It occupies the holy place in the temple, it dominates the home, it is worn on the person as an amulet, it greets the eye at every turn. For in India reproduction is the *sine qua non*, the eternal reality which one is never permitted to forget. Sex is the supreme fact of the universe, and every child, almost from infancy, becomes its devotee. What wonder, then, in a country so obsessed with reproduction, that marriage ranks as the first duty of man? The ceremonies of marriage vary in different districts and different castes, but in every caste marriage itself is the most important affair in a man's life. An unmarried man (unless he remain single from pious motives) is considered an almost useless member of society. He has little social status and is not consulted on important matters, for he has shirked the duty of race perpetuation.

But it would be unfair to intimate that Hindu marriage is a mere legalization of sexual indulgence, and that pas-

sion always rules marital life. On the contrary the Hindu is adjured to shun all passion and maintain only a cool, controlled affection for his wife. This sounds paradoxical, and can be understood only by looking at Hindu marriage ideals in the light of Hindu philosophy and religion. Desire must be suppressed. Marriage is an impersonal matter, having nothing to do with the preferences of one man or one woman and their pursuit of happiness. It is not the joining of two free wills in an isolated relationship for their own contentment, but rather

the connection of two incarnations of the world spirit during an unreal moment of illusory existence. The proper husband and wife are recognized and selected by magical arts exercised under the authority of the sacred books by certain classes of the priesthood. They are joined under a right conjunction of the stars, interpreted by an hereditary expert in the magic art of astrology. Their marriage is sanctified by miraculous rites and blessed and transformed by the repetition of mysterious phrases. They enter their new state purified as by a consecration.¹

Thus marriage is not an individual contract, not even a family contract as in China; it is a sacrament. It fulfills a duty not only to the family but to the Divine Spirit of the Universe. Through marriage sexual intercourse becomes not only a privilege but a duty, yet it should not be accompanied by passion, which is debasing, an earth-bound desire. Since passion cannot be entirely excluded, it should act only as a deliverance from conflicting desire, the ideal motive being to pass on the torch of life. But as ideal and practice never fully coincide, it is not surprising that the paradoxical philosophy of stimulating yet controlling the sex urge has been difficult of attainment, and that sexual excess is a common weakness in India. Of course sexual exploitation of the wife is not the only pattern followed

¹ Otto Rothfield, *Women of India* (London, 1920), pp. 34-35.

in India; there are some who, touched by chivalry and humanitarian ideas, have substituted another pattern and have found true companionship and devotion in the marriage state. Therefore, when we speak of marriage and family life in India we must make mental reservation for those who live above the norm. Also, in the main we shall discuss the family as it has existed in India for centuries, and not attempt to show the limited changes that have come about in the last generation or two.

Woman's place in India. The two great epics of ancient India—the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*—are rich in data on the status of woman. The *Mahabharata* pictures the social life of India some 1500 years ago. Then, as now, girl babies were not welcome, but a good father made the most of his "misfortune" and sought to marry his daughter off fittingly. Misfortune she was indeed, for she brought danger to three families, her mother's, her father's, and the one into which she married. Various passages of the epic speak of the daughter as a misfortune to the family and as bringing shame on it by her very birth. A typical passage follows: "The eldest brother is the same as the father, the wife and son are a man's own body, his servants are the man's shadow, the daughter is the bitterest woe."² This prejudice, however, was often so modified by the natural affections of parents for offsprings that girls received kindly treatment in many families. Yet they were shown little of the attention showered on boys, and their lot was unenviable at best. They were quiet and submissive, and early learned the duties of the household, knowing that while still of tender years they would be given over to the desires of a man usually several times their age. There was no thought of rebellion in their

² *Mahabharata*, XII, 243:20, as quoted in Johann Jakob Meyer, *Sexual Life in Ancient India* (London, 1930), I, 7.

hearts, for they merely followed the only social pattern of which they had any knowledge.

In most respects the status of woman was even lower in ancient India than in China, and perhaps as low as among any people of whom we have knowledge. Woman was created for the propagation of the species, and to minister to man's wants. She had no existence outside of man. When married, her husband was her god, and she yielded to his every wish. Her's was the passive rôle; her greatest virtue, the worshipful adoration she accorded her husband. Nothing better illustrates her abject submission to her lord and master than the rules of wifely conduct prescribed in the *Padmapurana*. These rules are reputed to have been formulated by the penitent Vasishta, who recommends their observance to every faithful wife. The first English edition appeared in 1816. Beauchamp translates them literally, and they deserve here a rather extended quotation.

Give ear to me attentively, great King of Dilipa! I will expound to thee how a wife attached to her husband and devoted to her duties ought to behave.

There is no other god on earth for a woman than her husband. The most excellent of all the good works that she can do is to seek to please him by manifesting perfect obedience to him. Therein should lie her sole rule of life.

Be her husband deformed, aged, infirm, offensive in his manners; let him also be choleric, debauched, immoral, a drunkard, a gambler; let him frequent places of ill repute, live in open sin with other women, have no affection whatever for his home; let him rave like a lunatic; let him live without honor; let him be blind, deaf, dumb, or crippled; in a word, let his defects be what they may, a wife should always look upon him as her god, should lavish on him all her attention and care, paying no heed whatsoever to his character and giving him no cause whatsoever for displeasure. . . .

If her husband laugh, she must laugh; if he be sad, she must be sad; if he weep, she must weep; if he ask questions, she must answer. Thus will she give proof of her good disposition. . . .

A wife must eat only after her husband has had his fill. If the latter fast, she shall fast too; if he touch not his food, she also shall not touch it; if he be in affliction, she shall be so too; if he be cheerful, she shall share his joy. . . .

Before her husband let her words fall softly and sweetly from her mouth; and let her devote herself to pleasing him every day more and more. . . .

If her husband go away anywhere and ask her to accompany him, let her follow him; if he tell her to remain at home, let her not leave the house during his absence. Until his return she shall not bathe, nor anoint her head with oil, or clean her teeth, or pare her nails; she shall eat but once a day, shall not lie down on a bed, or wear new clothes, or adorn her forehead with any of the ordinary marks. . . .

In the presence of her husband, a wife must not look about her, but must keep her eyes fixed on him, in readiness to receive his orders. When he speaks, she must not interrupt him, nor speak to anybody else; when he calls her, she must leave everything and run to him.

If he sing, she must be in ecstasy; if he dance, she must look at him with delight; if he speak of learned things, she must listen to him with admiration. . . .

If her husband flies into a passion, threatens her, abuses her grossly, even beats her unjustly, she shall answer him meekly, shall lay hold of his hands, kiss them, and beg his pardon. . . .

Let all her words and actions give public proof that she looks upon her husband as her god. Honored by everybody, she shall thus enjoy the reputation of a faithful and virtuous spouse. . . .³

From the above, as from innumerable other passages in Hindu literature, it is clear that woman had but one vocation in life, to minister to man's every comfort and pleasure and to bear him children. The husband frequently called his wife "servant" or even "slave," while she called him "my master" and "my lord"; to call him by his name was too familiar and would incur his anger. Says the epic: "This is the highest and everlasting task of the woman in

³ J. A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, tr. by Henry K. Beauchamp (Oxford, 1924), pp. 344-49.

the world, that she do all that is best for her husband, even at the cost of her life."⁴ Virtue on the man's part was entirely unnecessary to warrant such devotion. Said the Ramayana: "But the husband, whether he be virtuous or not, is for those women that heed the moral good the visible godhead." Woman was considered so inferior intellectually as to be incapable of thought on any higher matters. It was, therefore, very exasperating when she cleverly used her alleged low mentality as an excuse for errors. If she found it difficult to give reasonable explanation for some mistake for which she was being admonished, she could fall back on the excuse, "After all, I am only a woman," to which there was no possible retort.

With the exception of the courtesans who sang and danced in the temple and at public gatherings women were not taught to read. It was considered disgraceful for a respectable woman to learn to read, and even if she secretly learned, she would be afraid to own it. The wife did not eat until her lord had had his fill, it being her natural duty to wait upon him. In South India there was another reason for this custom. The husband, by meditation and "severe austerities," became a storehouse of magnetic force, and during a meal his plate was saturated with his magnetism. By eating from his plate the wife absorbed into her system some of this vital magnetism, and thus became purer.⁵ A woman was subject to male domination throughout life; first to her father, then to her husband, and finally (if widowed) to her grown son if she had one.

Sutteeism, the custom by which the wife was burned on the funeral pile of her husband, was fairly frequent in some times and places, but nothing like as common in all India as some writers have implied. Had it been thus

⁴ Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

⁵ P. J. Jagadisa Ayyar, *South Indian Customs* (Madras, 1925), pp. 58-59.

common, India could not have swarmed with widows as it has for centuries. Before widows could attain the honor of such sacrifice they had to pass several tests; most of them failed at some stage, doubtless to their secret relief. If a woman expressed a desire to become *suttee*, her relatives immediately sought to dissuade her. If they failed, her friends interposed, and finally priests were called in to break down her will. As a last resort they pictured to her the horrors of the flames; if she firmly withstood this prospect of suffering, she had her way. Having passed the tests she became holy through her spirit of perfect devotion, and the awed spectators called upon her to bless them. She first worshiped at the temple, removing all personal adornments and laying them at the feet of the gods. Then she ascended the funeral pile, where her friends adjusted her hair and adorned her with wreaths and garlands. After throwing handfuls of cowries, betelnuts and plantains to the crowd she laid herself by the corpse of her husband, embraced him fervently, and gave the order. Fire was applied simultaneously in several places, and, the pile having been saturated with oil, death came almost instantly.⁶

But the picture of womanhood in India was not entirely one of shadows; it had its bright spots as well. A man might look down on his wife, but he was dependent upon her. He was not complete without her. She was the right half and her husband the left half of the whole individual. They were as "one soul functioning in two bodies." In fact many important Hindu ceremonies were null and void if a man performed them without the company of his wife. If her husband gave a gift to another, she made the transfer effective by pouring a spoonful of water on the gift; if a daughter was being given in marriage, the formalities

⁶ Shishar Kumar Ghose, *Pictures of Indian Life* (Madras, 1917).

were of no avail without her participation.⁷ It was through his wife that a man did good works and acquired riches and honor. To a certain degree this was fiction, as was also the passage in the wedding hymn in the *Rig Veda* which charges the bride to be mistress over her father-in-law and mother-in-law. Such advice was a noble and generous gesture, but the *Mahabharata* in several places justifies lying to a woman, especially at a wedding.

Man's dominion over his wife was complete enough to satisfy even the most consummate egotist, but it was often exercised in moderation. Conjugal exploitation was common, but certainly not universal. While couples were mated without the slightest respect to their wishes, they frequently became greatly attached to each other and lived in lifelong devotion. True, such unions abounded more in poetry than in real life, but the ideal nevertheless existed and was occasionally approached. Quoting again from the epics, Meyer gives us a picture of the ideal relationship between husband and wife.

She is a wife who is skillful in the house; she is a wife who has children; she is a wife whose life is her husband. . . . The wife is the best friend of all. . . . He that has a wife accomplishes deeds; . . . he that has a wife has joy. . . . He that has a wife finds trust; therefore the wife is the surest refuge. . . . If the man is burning in sorrows of the soul, and is sick with bodily ills, then does he find comfort by his wife, as that [which] is tortured in heat does in water. Even the man in the clutches of hot rage will do nothing harsh to women, if he considers that on them depend the pleasures of love, joy, and what is good. As the field on which the self grows up, women are an ever-holy thing; for what power have even the Rishis to produce children without a woman!⁸

Polygamy was tolerated among officials of high rank. Kings were allowed five legitimate wives, and rajahs,

⁷ Ayyar, *loc. cit.*

⁸ Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 342-43.

princes, statesmen, and certain others were permitted more than one. But even when practiced by the great, polygamy was looked upon as counter to law and custom, and not to be easily condoned. Even the principal Hindu gods had only one wife, though they sometimes had extra-marital adventures. If a man of inferior rank took several women, only one could be his legitimate wife, the others rating only as concubines. Only, if after years of married life his wife proved to be barren, or bore female children only, could a man legally take a second wife, and then only after he had obtained the consent of the first wife.⁹

Betrothal and marriage. Marriage with one's kin was prohibited, but marriage within one's caste, even within the same subdivision of the caste, was the proper thing, providing there was found no relationship to a common ancestor. It was possible to marry a woman of lower caste, but it was undesirable for it meant that the man dropped to her caste. However, if he first married a woman of his own caste, and later one of a lower rank, he did not lose caste. Child marriage, which has prevailed for centuries in India, was not common in its very early history. In the period 1000-320 B.C. the prescribed age of marriage for girls was three years after puberty, but later it came to be a great disgrace to the parents if the daughter was not married before puberty. Meyer's translation of the ancient instructions on this subject reads: "Each time a (ripe) unwedded maiden has her courses, her parents or guardians are guilty of the heinous crime of slaying the embryo."¹⁰ So seriously discountenanced was celibacy, and so difficult was it for a girl to find a husband after she passed the proper age, that if her parents neglected to marry her when they should she was free to

⁹ Dubois, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-8.

¹⁰ Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

act on her own initiative. "Three years shall a maiden wait after the first coming of her menses, but after the fourth has come let her get a husband for herself."¹¹

The most suitable age for the husband was three times that of the wife. A man 30 years old was advised to marry a girl of 10, and a youth of 21 should take a girl of 7. For the young Brahmin, 16 was the ideal age for marriage, though frequently it was postponed some years. The bride, accordingly, was usually from 5 to 7, but should not be over 9. This marriage of young girls was common in all castes, but most strictly observed by the Brahmins. It was not uncommon for a widower of 60 or 65 to marry a little girl five or six years old.¹² Frequently this meant that she became a widow before she was old enough for the man to exercise his rights as husband. A younger brother could not marry before an elder, nor a younger sister before her senior sister.

Marriage was not an individual matter; the individual was nothing, but the race was all. The parties supposedly most interested were not even consulted. Often they were too young to have any choice, and besides, cosmic harmony and family advantage were far more important than personal wishes. In theory, harmony with the universe was first in importance, but in practice it frequently got rather badly bent in the efforts to make it conform to family advantage. The father of the girl first sent a message to the boy's father, suggesting that the children be married. Among the Jâts, if the boy's father found the offer attractive, he sent the family priest to the girl's home to measure her height, judge her appearance, and observe any other important factor. If the report was favorable the genealogies were next studied to see that no prohibited degree of

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

¹² Dubois, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

relationship existed. Then the horoscopes were consulted by specialists to see that the marriage would not run counter to the appointed courses of the stars. Sometimes the astrologers prolonged their search as long as it was profitable to do so, being very skillful in estimating the fees their clients would stand for. When the delay was too great the exasperated parents bribed them into giving an acceptable decision.¹³ When the betrothal was finally agreed upon it was considered binding by both parties. There was usually a period of years between betrothal and marriage; an uneven number like 3, 5, or 7 was preferable, for the even numbers were considered unlucky.

In the double period 1000 B.C. to 500 A.D. there were from six to eight different forms of marriage recognized, though not all were considered orthodox. There was the form for the marriage of a girl with a priest, for marriage between a girl and a student, and others. Marriage based on either seduction or sale was strongly condemned.¹⁴ Nevertheless nuptial fees were common. Occasionally a man got a bargain. If another tried to deceive him by showing him one girl but giving him another, he was entitled to both girls for the price of one! As among various other peoples, a young man without the price of a bride could hire out to his prospective father-in-law, and for seven years' labor he received his daughter in marriage. There were seemingly four other ways in which the financial end of the marriage could be arranged: (1) A rich man sometimes refused the sum to which, as the father of the bride, he was entitled, and paid all the expenses of the marriage. Such a course brought him great honor. (2) The parents of both parties might share the expenses

¹³ G. T. Lushington, "On the Marriage Rites and Usages of the Jāts of Bharatpur," *Journal of the Asiatic Society* (June, 1883), pp. 273-97.

¹⁴ Romesh C. Dutt, *A History of Civilization in Ancient India* (London, 1893), 2 vols.

equally. (3) The bride's parents might insist that the bridegroom's parents pay for the bride and all the wedding costs. (4) Very poor people, who were not in any position to bargain, could only hand over the girl to the boy's parents and implore them to pay at least something for her.¹⁵

The wedding was always a religious affair. The ceremonies involved were many and complicated. When the sacred hour approached, with an astrologer consulting the waterclock for the exactly propitious time, the bride and groom sat with joined hands while the priests chanted Sanskrit verses. At just the right moment they arose, went around the sacred fire, and took the seven steps which bound them together forever. The bridegroom then turned to his wife, saying "Oh wife, give your heart to my work, make your mind agreeable to mine. May the God Brahaspati make you pleasing to me."¹⁶ The festivities connected with the wedding lasted anywhere from a few days to a month. When at length all was over the bride returned home with her parents, who kept her well secluded until she attained puberty and was able to fulfill all the functions of a wife. The bridegroom's parents then came for her. But in order that she might become accustomed to married life gradually, she was taken back to her parents after a month, and for the first few years (or until she had a child) she lived alternately with her parents and her husband.¹⁷ However, this seeming concern for the girl was not always so great as it appeared.

Marriage was practically indissoluble. Husband and wife did not even think in terms of separation. It was said that only the will of God, through the instrument of

¹⁵ Dubois, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-15.

¹⁶ Rothfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-7.

¹⁷ Dubois, *op. cit.*, pp. 231-32.

death, could grant divorce, but this was not literally true. In some sections, at least, a wife guilty of adultery could be divorced, but such an offense was so unthinkable in all except the most degraded among the lower castes that it was almost unknown. A marriage could be annulled if the parties to it were found to be related in the prohibited degree.

Widowhood. The custom which prevented widows from marrying was far more rigid in India than in China. Child marriage meant many thousands of girl widows who had not even reached their teens. In the 1000-320 B.C. period the marriage of widows was fairly common, though even then it was frowned upon except in the case of child widows. But later remarriage of widows came to be considered incompatible with virtue, and it finally became almost unknown, except in the lower castes. The wife widowed in girlhood, having had no companion but an aged husband, was frequently tempted into a life of irregular relations, but on the whole it was remarkable how few widows departed from the path of virtue.

Filial and parental ideals. A special hell was reserved for fathers who sold their daughters. "He that seeks to earn money through selling his own son, or that . . . gives away his daughter for a price, such a blind one shall feed on sweat, wine and excrement in the dreadful hell called Kala, the deepest of the seven."¹⁸ But in spite of such stern precepts, the custom of demanding a bride-price actually amounted to sale. Parents were exhorted to care well for their children and look after their education. When a boy (presumably of the upper caste) reached his early teens, a great event in his life took place. He was initiated as a student and went to live with his teacher, studying the Vedas until he married. Sons brought their brides to their parents' home, where they lived together unless

¹⁸ Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

the parents permitted them to live elsewhere. Children were brought up to observe strict filial piety. The son was taught unwavering obedience to his father.

For the father the son is but a joy, but for the son the father is all. . . . Therefore a man shall act according to his father's words, and never take thought upon it; mortal sins even are washed away from him who follows his father's bidding.

It was the son's special duty to make the sacrifices for the dead, or else his forefathers would fare badly in the other world. By properly observing the sacrificial rites he led them from hell to heaven. The forlorn Pandu wailed,

For him that has no offspring, no door to heaven is known or is named; this torments me. I am not free of my debts towards my forbears. When my life is at an end then it is the end of my fathers.¹⁹

Children were likewise devoted to their mothers. Motherhood was so essential to the Indian ideal that it constituted one of the few grounds on which women could command respect. The epic sings the praise of the mother thus:

The cause of this body here with me in the mortal world. . . is my mother. . . . If one has a mother, one is sheltered, but unsheltered if one has her not. He does not grieve, age does not weigh on him, even though fortune betray him, who comes back to his house and can say "Mother!" . . . Whether he is capable or incapable, unimportant or important, the mother protects the son. . . . There is no refuge like the mother, there is no beloved like the mother.²⁰

Other passages testify to the tender regard in which the mother was held by worthy children.

Adoption and inheritance. When a Brahmin found that he had no son, either because of the barrenness of his wife

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

or the death of the sons she had borne him, he was not only entitled but bound by the rules of his caste to adopt a son. Only thus could he fulfill his debt to his ancestors. To fail to leave a son behind him was an offense serious enough to deprive him of happiness in the next world. The usual method was to adopt a boy from among his own relatives, but if he found none he considered worthy, he would secure a son from some poor father of his own caste who was burdened with too large a family. The adopted son renounced all rights to any share in the property of his natural father, and acquired the sole right of inheritance from his adopted father. On the death of the latter the adopted son received the full inheritance, assets as well as liabilities. He was bound to pay any debts his foster father had left. He had become an actual part of a new family line.

When a Brahmin father died his property was inherited equally by his sons, the daughters getting nothing but a dowry, and the mother getting nothing, though her sons were jointly obligated to provide for her during life. If a man, whose first wife was barren, married a second wife and had a son by her, all of his property would go to this son, who in turn was obligated to support both mothers. A man could by will leave property to his wife, but the amount was definitely limited. He could not leave all his property to one son, even by will. If for any reason the sons neglected to divide the estate after their father's death, they were all jointly responsible for each other's debts; furthermore all could demand a share in the prosperity of one brother who had been more diligent than the others. The only safe way was to divide the estate at once after the father's death; otherwise a successful brother was likely to find his more slothful brothers descending on him as soon as they learned of his prosperity, demanding that he assume their debts and grant them their share of his hard-earned wealth.

A LOW-COST COMMUNITY SURVEY (THE BOROUGH OF QUEENS IN NEW YORK CITY)

JAMES G. HODGSON

Chicago

THE VALUE of a social or economic survey of a community as a basis for planning any type of social service is well recognized. The difficulty is to make a survey which will supply the information needed for the particular project when the funds available will not permit any careful investigations. This article, describing the inexpensive but relatively satisfactory methods used to secure and interpret information in planning a business department for the Queens Borough Public Library, will have fulfilled its purpose if it suggests methods which might be used for similar surveys.

Queens Borough, with a population of over one million and coextensive with Queens County on Long Island, is essentially a union of suburbs of the heart of New York on Manhattan Island. Old residents speak of from 50 to 115 small communities (depending on what was considered a community) which were finally brought together in 1898 to form Queens Borough of Greater New York. At one time each of the larger communities had its own business and industrial section, and to a certain extent these local centers have persisted in spite of great changes in population, transportation, and business conditions. In short, the Borough lacks any well-defined center of its own, unless Manhattan Island could be so considered. As a result the Borough presents a unique library problem which has to be studied carefully before any plans can be made.

In as uncentralized a community as Queens the most important thing a business library must know is the location and size of industries and businesses, since it must determine first of all where its service is to be given. Next, it has to know what kinds of employees are to be found in any particular section, whether they are machine workers and laborers, office help, or executives. It is also necessary to know what type of business information might be called for in any of those sections. The survey, by bringing together known facts which could be correlated roughly, was expected to answer the questions.

The first step was to determine what parts of the city were as yet undeveloped. This information is given for New York City on the Hyde real estate maps which are kept up-to-date by the company which publishes them. (In some cities this information can be found only on manuscript maps kept in the offices of the Tax Commission or the Recorder.) On an ordinary street map undeveloped areas were shaded in black, the grease pencil used giving a solid color but one which permitted the printed lines on the map to show through. Parks, cemeteries, and railroad yards were considered as unsettled. On the same map were spotted also the locations of the various branches of the library, and the offices of the city government, which were widely scattered. Care was taken to see that the transformation system was clearly brought out. Other information could have been placed on this map, but in practice separate maps were made for each item and comparisons were made by placing a series of maps side by side. In this way more information could be given for each phase, and the master map did not run the danger of being cluttered up with material that later would not be so useful as was expected.

Figures for various kinds of industries in Queens, and their relative importance, can be found in the Census of

Manufacturers published by the Federal Bureau of the Census. It was merely a matter of rearranging data to show which industries were most important when compared with others in Queens, or with other cities. The number of men employed, the rate of growth and the average size of the plants were found in the same way. For easier comparison most of the figures were charted.

Locating the industries was a more difficult problem. Help here was secured from the Queensboro Chamber of Commerce which had been collecting names, addresses, and number of employees for some time. This information was not for public use, but since the survey was made for a municipal activity it was possible to have access not only to the Chamber's figures, but also to those of other agencies. Two maps were prepared to show industrial distribution. On the first, industries were located by dots which were proportionate in size to the number of employees. On the second, each dot showed that 100 persons were employed in the vicinity of the location of the dot. Both maps gave approximately the same distribution of industrial activity, but while the first pointed out the larger industries with their more complex book needs, the second demonstrated in a somewhat better way the relative density of industry and how it shaded off into the residential districts.

In the case of manufacturers it was also felt desirable to have something of a historical background, a factor which was not considered important in the case of retail business, where it was felt that population growth determined business conditions. Maps were therefore made showing the distribution of factories in 1912 according to figures published by the State Department of Labor. Evident tendencies toward growth along the lines of the Long Island Railroad were checked with the zoning maps of the city in order to determine the possibilities for future expansion.

The business sections to be located were of two kinds, trading centers and "naborhood" groups. Drug stores, chain or independent, were not felt to be reliable as a guide since they were found in all sections. On the other hand the chain grocery stores were found almost exclusively in the "naborhood" districts, while the "5 and 10's" and the big department stores were indicative of the shopping or trading centers. On inquiry it was found that the chain stores did not vary much in size, hence the number of stores would be indicative of the amount of business done. On the other hand the "5 and 10's" did vary, but the larger ones were located in the vicinity of their competitors. Hence the presence of a number of such stores in one place suggested a volume of retail business much greater than would be thought if only the number of stores was taken into consideration.

Locations for chain stores were taken from the telephone directory, but additions were secured from the district managers so that stores without telephones might be included. The classified directory gave an adequate list of department stores. The locations of trading areas and "naborhood" groups were then checked against the zoning maps of the city and the one showing unsettled areas, to see if any sections were missed, but no great errors were found.

Next, information as to the financial institutions of the Borough was spotted on a map. In general, Queens is served by branches of banks which have their main offices on Manhattan. While these banks published general reports, statements as to the amount of business done by any single branch are held to be confidential, and are not made public. In order to secure this information an interested banker worked out a schedule of sizes which, according to his experience, would divide the banks into groups small

enough to tell the desired story, and yet large enough not to reveal the size of an individual branch. The total of deposits and loans on reporting day was selected as the basis of comparison on the ground that it would be most indicative of the "business" done in the community. This automatically excluded investments in bonds, clearly not a local business activity, and, of course, reduced the savings banks practically to a statement of their deposits.

The schedule of bank sizes was as follows:

- A. Those with a business of under \$3,000,000.
- B. Those between \$3,000,000 and \$5,000,000.
- C. Those between \$5,000,000 and \$10,000,000.
- D. Those with a business of over \$10,000,000.

Published reports were used in grading the independent banks. Banks with branches were asked to grade the latter according to the above schedule, and responses were received from all of the banks but one, with two small branches in Queens. Both of these small branches clearly belonged in Class A.

Building and loan associations, savings banks, title guarantee companies, and trust companies were distinguished by specially shaped spots, but of a size to compare with those of the banks themselves. The spots for all financial institutions were then stuck on the map without giving too close an approximation to actual locations. In this way the identity of any individual bank was concealed, but the total number of spots in any locality gave a good picture of its financial importance.

By comparing the maps it was now possible to get a clear idea of the character of any section of the Borough. Built-up areas in which there were no chain stores were either high class residential districts or were solidly industrial, and a glance at the industry map showed which

fell in that category. The shading off of the industrial areas into the residential districts was also shown by the increase in the number of chain stores. Where these shaded into the better class residential sections there were no savings banks, which was a further proof of the contention that the presence of a wage earning or low salaried class was indicated by the existence of savings banks. In some cases, conclusions from the maps were checked by personal visits to the neighborhoods. Confirmation of the class of residential districts, as deduced from the evidence of the maps, was given by figures on typical rentals in certain districts, furnished by one of the organizations or real estate men.

The financial dots showed two general centers, Jamaica and Long Island City. In Jamaica, commercial business was most strongly represented, while Long Island City was at the edge of the district where the largest industries and the greatest concentration of workers were found. Here commercial business was relatively weak, and savings banks relatively strong. In fact, Long Island City, when compared to other sections of the Borough, had not much more commercial banking business than was necessary to take care of its regular retail business. Obviously the financing of that great bulk of Queens industry near Long Island City was done, not in Queens, but in Manhattan. If it is true that industry tends to finance itself, or at least carries its main checking accounts near the location of its main office, this would indicate that more of the companies with factories in Queens had their main offices in Manhattan than was generally supposed. And this would mean that the persons who needed book service in the sections adjacent to Long Island City were the production staff and the factory superintendents rather than the office and sales forces, and the general management. In short, the

need would be for a technological service rather than a business service. On the other hand, the service in Jamaica would be mainly for the retail business and the financial houses there.

There remained but one type of library user on which the survey did not give fairly clear information—the man who uses his hours at home in the evening for study and self improvement, and who would want business information from the library. The experience of the various branches indicated that this type of reader was to be found in nearly all residential sections. While the evidence might be discounted because most of the branches served so many different types of districts, it indicated that no particular branches could be singled out for special attention, and that it was not necessary to localize the type of community where such readers lived.

In making the survey in Queens, many possible sources of information were not used. The water, gas, and electric light companies keep records which describe sections of the community. Moving companies have records which indicate the changing character of districts, and real estate agents often have on file basic data on typical renting rates. Telephone companies plan many of their operations as the result of commercial surveys, and their results are often available for worthy enterprises. And the various city offices, like the licensing bureaus and the Board of Education, automatically collect much information which is basic. In the Queens survey no use was made of census figures since at that time the results from the 1929-30 census were not yet available, but many manuscript sub-totals which were made by the Bureau of the Census while working up figures for publication are available for serious use.

The survey of Queens did not attempt to be either exhaustive or scholarly. But it did attempt to secure re-

liable information with a small expenditure of time and money. As far as the library was concerned, the most valuable information was obtained from the analysis of basic facts as set out on the various maps, for as is shown by the examples given in the text the uncorrelated facts might, by themselves, tell an entirely different story from that told by several of the maps together. As far as can be ascertained these deductions were as reliable for their purpose as though the information had been painstakingly collected by some direct, but more expensive method.

RACES AND CULTURAL OASES*

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NO DEEP HIDDEN esoteric interpretation of this subject is required. As for races, every one of us is aware of the increasing volume of foreign-born Mexicans, Italians, Japanese, Chinese, Russians old and new, Yugoslavs, Czechoslovakians, Molokans, Germans pro-and anti-Hitler, French, Irish, Greeks, Scandinavians, English and South Americans, and Negroes from the south and the east, who have in the past two decades made their homes in this Southern California area. And an oasis, according to Webster, is "a fertile or green spot in a waste or desert, especially in a sandy desert." I am not going to burden you with a bewildering array of statistics as to numbers, birth and death rates, much as I respect the statistical method, nor am I going to zone, segregate, or belt these races for you. That will be admirably done for you in the Ecological Round Table tomorrow.

I desire merely to assure you that these racial minorities are present here in sufficiently large numbers to arrest attention, and what is more impressive is the fact that every one of these groups has brought with it a rich, colorful, cultural heritage. This heritage is expressed specifically here in strange customs, traditions, quaint folkways, in their mores, skills, crafts, religious beliefs, the social institutions; namely, family, school, church, language; in their music, art, folk-dances. Notwithstanding the steady persistent impact of the American culture through school community organizations, newspapers, radio, and social contact, the

* Editorial Note. Address of President of the Pacific Sociological Society, January 12, 1934, at the annual session held at the University of California at Los Angeles.

Russians, the Mexicans, the Italians, the Czechs, and the Orientals have tenaciously preserved and fostered certain elemental traits of their culture here amidst conflict and the pressure brought to bear upon them to conform to the dominant majority culture. Nay, more, and here is the gist of the whole matter, there are in each of the racial groups certain basic elements of native culture which sustain, nourish, and enrich the inner life of the group members for which their spirits yearn and without which culturally they die. Folk songs, folk dances of the Mexicans, concerts that revive the great old world, operas of Italy, Germany, and Russia, presentations of the European classic dramas, Negro spirituals, the Sobranie of the Molokans, the Krippen Spiele of the Germans, all tend to satisfy an intense hunger for their own culture's genius.

These groups are sufficiently race conscious and sufficiently culture proud, sufficiently active and resourceful in developing Kulturtraeger technique, to evoke admiration and respect.

I assume that all of us regard America as still in the making, hold the view that America is not finished, not static, not crystallized, but still evolving, still plastic, still pregnant with nobler form and richer content. I take it that none of us would relish being labeled past Americans, 100 per cent Americans, or even better Americans. None is content with the status quo, nor are we defenders of it as such. Probably most of us claim a high degree of racial tolerance, a wide range of sympathetic understanding, and a respectable lack of so vulgar a thing as race prejudice. We mentally include rather than exclude the racial minorities within our gates. We resent upon broad principles of humanitarianism and social justice the Hitler attack upon the Jews. Our high regard for Einstein, the man and scientist, transcends race, creed, or nationality. In his case science like art knows no racial barriers.

What impresses me as I mingle with the various racial groups in Los Angeles, catch their essential spirit, breathe their native atmosphere, see occasional exhibits of their exquisite craftsmanship and manual skill in embroideries, shawls of rich texture and artistic design, enjoy an evening of Russian or Italian music, or a Spanish dance, or a Japanese children's program or listen to Negro spirituals sung either by Roland Hayes or a Negro choir,—what impresses me is the potential worth, the latent powers, often sheer genius, the undiscovered wealth of cultural heritage waiting to be appropriated by and incorporated into our American culture, for its enrichment and ennoblement. What is of rather embarrassing significance is that hitherto these racial groups, like the political "forgotten man," have culturally been either misunderstood or snubbed, by most of us who constitute the dominant majority.¹

In Mexico there are many fiestas and celebrations commemorating Saints' Days, legendary heroes, and national victories. Many of these customs have culminated from Spanish, Indian, Pagan, Catholic influences. All the festivals are characterized by gorgeous colorful costumes, and an abundance of flowers. In the ceremonials showing pagan influence, grotesque masks are often worn. Desiring to revive again in their hearts the old "Pastorela" of Mexico, a group of Mexican laborers (and the daughters of two of them) headed by Juan Lopez, attempted to produce it here in the United States.

For three years Juan Lopez had dreamed of rendering the *Pastorela* at Xmas time. Each time he had failed, but Xmas, 1927,

¹ The statistically-minded will be impressed with the following figures with reference to certain shifts in foreign immigration to this area during the past decade. While the rate of increase in the total foreign-born in California decreased by 21.9 per cent between 1900-10 and 1910-20, the rate of increase in the foreign-born Mexicans increased during the same period by 115%. About half of the total number of immigrants coming into California are Mexicans. The Mexican population in California is roughly estimated at 250,000 in 1930. For Los Angeles County the Mexican population is estimated conservatively at 96,000.

he was encouraged to try again to organize the cast and put it on for the people to enjoy. The owner of a poolhall donated the use of the building for rehearsals, and he himself took a prominent part. The Reverend Jose Origel, who had recently arrived from Mexico to assume charge of the church, typed the story of the *Pastorela* which Juan verbally dictated from memory. There are many varying legendary stories of the *Pastorela* and the Reverend Father had considerable difficulty in eliminating many objectionable portions from the manuscript. Later, I learned the actors put in all that had been omitted so the play was dramatically true to the history and legends of that part of Mexico.

Juan Lopez, although he failed twice before, this time succeeded. He was so happy. The first two attempts which had resulted in failures were due he said to the fact that the parts were given out to men and boys who knew English, and who were too bashful when the time came to give the play: So this time the men who took the parts, were, like himself, unable to speak English, and who had the love in their hearts for the lovely story of the Christ Child and longed to again participate in the beloved *Pastorela* which is given from one end of Mexico to the other at the joyous Christmas season.²

The Mexicans are lovers of the vivid. This fact is evidenced in their dress, in the flowers which they plant in their front yards, in serapes, and in their treasure corner, where all of the things that are especially prized are placed. Perhaps there is a crude shelf covered with brightly colored paper, a vase of paper flowers, a wax figure of a Saint, the picture of a Saint (usually the Virgin Guadalupe), brightly colored post cards, a kodak picture or two, or some small photographs, and of course always a crucifix and candles. No matter how much they try to imitate an American home this corner always introduces the foreign atmosphere and adds cheer and color. It is the outlet, perhaps, of their desire to express the love of the beautiful.³

The Mexican has experienced no racial antagonism in Mexico and he still preserves this attitude in the United States, and hence he is unable to understand prejudice against any people. His timidity causes him inward suffering at abuses hurled at him for infringements of which

² Helen Walker, *Conflict of Cultures in First Generation Mexicans in Santa Ana, California* (Master's thesis, University of Southern California), p. 74 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

he is ignorant. This timidity leads him to seek his pleasures and sympathy among his own people and discourages him from belonging to a country in which he is unwelcome and unable to participate on equal terms. Consequently some of the Mexicans have returned to their native land. Proofs of their change in wants have been shown by articles bought for returning. Trucks bought here have left for Mexico laden with machine-made furniture, sewing machines, stoves, phonographs, radios, tools, et cetera.

On their return to Mexico the children have become discontented with social conditions there. Accordingly, many youths have run away from their new homes and returned to the United States where they were born.⁴ This indicates that it does make a difference into what culture children happen to be born.

Through no prejudice or partiality on the writer's part, several other racial groups, Oriental and European, have not been dealt with in this paper. They are equally deserving of study, in fact, rewarding research projects have been made and others are contemplated. Studies of the Yugoslav Colony at San Pedro, of the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean groups within this city, of the Hindu group of Imperial Valley, of the Filipinos of the Watsonville area, of the Syrians of Turlock, of the Scandinavians, Hungarians, French, and the Greeks in this city would all add further color and fascination to our theme. The mere recording of the salient facts concerning all of them would take us far into the night. And although some of us who belong to the minority groups are at our mental best after midnight, I must keep faith with the timekeeper, and with the tradition of the dominant culture group here, that any paper that runs over thirty-five minutes is a breach of academic etiquette.

⁴ Clara Smith, *Development of the Mexican People in Watts, California* (Master's thesis, University of Southern California), p. 63 ff.

We turn our attention now to three minority groups which, though numerically small, nevertheless exert a strong cultural influence in Southern California and deserve honorable mention. The first are the Czechoslovakians, numbering one thousand or more persons in Los Angeles. They have several clubs of a cultural nature, one of them the Masaryk Club, noted for the excellent literary and musical programs and the high quality of its personnel. Another important club is the Sokol, famous for athletic prowess. Material prosperity, successful adjustment to American life, and plenty of ambition and ability characterizes this sturdy group.

The second group are the Italians, who number approximately 36,000 in Los Angeles and 250,000 in the state. They, too, are a pronounced cultural asset to the community. They, too, have prospered financially here and as a culture group have made an impact rather clear-cut and impressive, particularly in the urban centers of Los Angeles and San Francisco. In this city, such mutual aid and cultural clubs as the Sons of Italy, the Garibaldi Club and the Dante Alighieri Club of Hollywood indicate the vitality of this racial group. Besides a couple of Italian sport clubs, it is estimated there are in Los Angeles thirty-three Italian-American clubs of varying political, social, and cultural interests.

The third group is the German colony of Los Angeles, estimated roughly at fifty or sixty thousand, including both German-born and American-born. The German-American Cultural Society (Deutsch-Amerikanischer Kulturbund) is the newest, most ambitious, and most active organization which is dedicated to the cultivating of German Language, Art, and Science. It hopes within the coming year to draw twenty thousand of the German colony into this Kulturbund. I quote from a statement

of its President, Dr. H. Meyer, entitled, "What we are and what we seek."

The Cultural Society (Kulturbund) bases its demands not only on the presence of a danger threatening complete collapse of everything German in America, a danger heightened by the recent restriction of immigration and a danger which can only be averted by the Germans who are now here, but it supports clearly and simply the contention that every one of German descent here in his American homeland precisely as over there in Germany, must in his own interest and particularly in his children's be made conscious of his culture loyalty. The Kulturbund distinctly holds itself aloof from purely political and religious questions. Its activity is directed to the fostering of the German language and culture. To accomplish this purpose, several committees have been appointed. The most important of these are (1) For the promotion of language and school, (2) For the promotion of philosophy, literature, and the theater, (3) For the promotion of painting and sculpture, (4) For the promotion of the sciences, and (5) For the advancement of music. One of its special objectives is to fight against the tendency to split up into small factions. The yearly dues are \$2.00 (what miracles could be wrought with \$40,000). This is not simply a new organization but an attempt to unite all groups of Germans in and around Los Angeles on the common basis of German culture. Germans, think of your own inheritance: Safeguard the great and lasting values, which belong to it. Extend the helping hand and become members of our society.

This quotation expresses in true German seriousness a sense of need of conserving a precious cultural heritage here in the midst of a friendly but, to the Germans, inadequate dominant culture. And I find no fault with this attitude. We should extend mental hospitality to all of these minority racial groups, who in their faithful adjustments to American mores reveal a cultural homesickness.

Two Slavic groups, one the Molokans or the Pilgrims of Russian Town⁵ (in Los Angeles), and the other The

⁵ Pauline V. Young, *The Pilgrims of Russian Town* (University of Chicago Press, 1932).

Russian Colony in Hollywood,⁶ are excellent examples of racial groups creating within the American environment cultural oases of surpassing verdure and fertility. For twenty-five years or more the former group, originally numbering 5000, has sustained itself upon its native cultural tradition with astonishing cohesive power in East-side Los Angeles and environs. The émigrés from Czarist Russia, fifteen hundred of them representing the cultural élite of the old aristocracy, and now residing for the most part in Hollywood, have through such institutions as the Russian Orthodox Church, a Russian-American Art Club, a Russian bookshop, a Russian School, Engineers' Society, and World War Veterans Society and several other organizations nourished a vigorous cultural life here in Los Angeles.

For the Molokans, the institution called the Sobranie (religious assembly) exerts probably the most powerful cultural and cohesive influence over them. "This social institution," says Dr. Pauline Young, "was transplanted bodily, as it were, to the new environment, and has suffered fewer changes than any other Molokan social institution. Religious practices, so intimately bound up with all the affairs of daily life, produce an intensive "collective consciousness" and form, as Molokans state, a "closed community."

The Hollywood Colony, which of all the racial minority groups I know best, is an exile group. It is barred from returning to Russia. It is alienated from Russia by political differences, and by emotions of hostility and hatred for the party in power. This group embodies a remnant culture that will die out with the present "Kulturtraeger," who are passionately devoted to the cause of grafting the cul-

⁶ George M. Day, *The Russian Colony in Hollywood* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Southern California, 1930).

ture of the old régime upon American stock. Historical examples of similar situations are the French Royalists who were exiled after the French Revolution and the British Tories who migrated to Canada following the American Revolution. Whatever impact the older Russians of this group make upon American culture must be made quickly, because they are now somewhat past their prime. For some of these Russian émigrés the contrast between their own culture mores and the American is so great that they find it difficult to reconcile themselves to their present situations. Mrs. H., a Russian who has kept aloof from Russians up to the present time, admitted that she kept away from the émigrés of Hollywood because they depressed her spirit by peddling only gossip and scandal; they expressed the worst side of Russian character, whereas she wished to remember Russians at their best in Russia. And, on the other hand, she associated only with Americans who exemplified the best ideals of American life. She said:

While I am in America I want to become an American citizen and to understand American life. But we still preserve the memories and the ideals of old Russia, and perhaps we even idealize old Russia. I feel that I am not only doing something worthy, but am satisfying the eager desire of many adult Americans and also the interest of some of my pupils in interpreting to them the symbolic meaning of our Russian art. Just now, as you know, there is a great desire among people here for what is new,—out of the ordinary. Consequently they love our peasant embroidery and lace work and bright colored clothes which I exhibit in my art talks. I must admit that while I have kept away from Russians for the sake of my teaching and my Americanization, I am now retreating back. I have made up with some of the Russians from whom I was estranged.

Another Russian, a man who by sheer ability and tenacity of purpose has achieved professional success as a music instructor in Los Angeles speaks as follows:

The American is a very shrewd business man. Always if he gives something he knows that he will also get something for it, maybe not right away but later. But I think it is very flattering for us that we receive this hospitality in trust, and that these people who give it to us think we are worth it. But many, not being Russians in the best meaning of this word, did not want to accommodate themselves to the life of the new country—they did not repay this hospitality, so many of the less cultured people did not succeed. And now after many years of struggling and fighting they remain chauffeurs, gardeners, and elevator men. They don't want to readjust themselves. The old tradition is too deeply rooted. . . .

The whole condition, the whole culture here is so different. Here you have bread, not only bread but bread and butter. If you were in Russia you would be standing in long lines. Here you have marvelous bathrooms, the finest sanitary conditions in the world. They, the Russians, say: "Excuse me, we do not care for it." You have marvelous automobile roads, but we do not care for them. Give us our theater, our music, our literature, our intelligent exchange of opinions with people who are near us—never mind. We shall go without clothes, without bread, without automobiles, because those things are not essential for us." That is something difficult for an American who is spoiled by these things to understand. They think sometimes that it is a pose, but it is not—we are sincere. It is not these marvelous things in this country that are attracting us. But there are things in this country that Americans themselves do not appreciate, but we appreciate immensely. . . . They say it is a country of materialism, but the marvelous amount of idealism that is here is not appreciated. That is the good side of life—that is what pays us for breaking with the old traditions.

When one passes from personality to community tendencies, one finds that the only word which summarizes these tendencies is disintegration. Two years ago there was more cohesion, more group solidarity in the church, in the clubs, in the Ladies' Aid Society, and in the Russian Engineers' Society. Since that time, due to culture conflict and personal dissensions, there is noticeable a decided weakening in the solidarity of these institutions. The members do not seem to coöperate so well as at first. This is partially due to the inherent incapacity of the Rus-

sians for prolonged coöperative effort. The introspective, critical spirit which is so strong among them tends to disintegrate their social organization. But, on the other hand, it must also be observed that American mores and social contacts are also exerting a powerful disintegrating influence, hence it is the unusual event now, such as the recent visit of the Grand Duke Alexander⁷ or the Kedroff⁸ quartet or the Russian-American Friendship Evening at Occidental College, which succeeds in assembling them.

It is clear that there is taking place in Los Angeles a sociological phenomenon of a culture conflict which, while it lasts, is full of dramatic interest. It will be over in all probability in twenty more years. Within these twenty years this small but aggressive cultural nucleus and remnant of old Russia, while externally adjusting itself successfully economically and socially, will continue to make its steady but effective impact upon the cultural and aesthetic areas of American life. Los Angeles will be decidedly richer in culture and in art appreciation because of the presence of the Russian colony in Hollywood. While the Americanizing process may proceed apace and may transform the second generation and those Russians who came to America in their early youth, and while even the Slavophile group may be outwardly Americanized, the inner citadel in which is safeguarded the memories of the intellectual and artistic splendor of Czarist Russia, when autocracy was in its prime, cannot be taken by assault during the life of this small but determined émigré group.

What cultural oasis exists for the 60,000 or more colored people in Los Angeles? What does the Negro want? Assuredly:

⁷ Brother-in-law of the late Czar, who lectured at the University of Southern California, March 26, 1930.

⁸ Russian quartet touring the country under the auspices of Feakin's Lyceum Bureau of New York City.

1. Justice in the courts, 2. representation on jury and in government, 3. fairer wages, 4. protection of colored women, 5. abolition of lynching, 6. use of the public privileges for which they pay through taxation, 7. fruits of victory as well as burdens of war.⁹

The Negro wants recognition of real Negro leadership. The Negro wants mutual self-respect among the races which make up our country. He doesn't covet the white man's things. He wants his own but he wants them just as good.

"The indifference of the West is harder to combat than the hatred of the South," said a noted community leader. "Nothing is as important as a right attitude of mind. The Negro resents being patronized, he hates pity, and recoils from being regarded as a curiosity. To the Negro there is no race about it. The only problem is that of making the white people understand. To ignore human needs is race discrimination, a problem of injustice."

"One can't live in the black belt; it is intolerable," said a cultured colored woman. These people usually are quiet, inoffensive folk, who frequently keep their homes even in better condition than do their white neighbors.

"White people flee from us as from a pestilence," said a colored business man. "We are not invaders when we buy the property that their 'dummies' contrive to sell us."

Met with white hostility and violence what haven of refuge does he find? These conditions produce certain inhibitions in the individual Negro which it is difficult for us to understand. To never know when or where one is welcome does not tend to develop individual imitation. To feel that advancement is strictly limited, does not encourage self improvement. To realize that the highest compliment a white man is likely to give a Negro is "that

⁹ Florence Keeney Robertson, *Problem in Training Adult Negroes in Los Angeles* (Master's thesis, University of Southern California).

he knows his place," does not tend to make that place other than that of the menial, the servant, as the white man obviously considers it to be.

The Negroes' limited social and avocational opportunity is a matter of real sociological importance, particularly due to the fact that there are in this city a large number of colored young people, who are entirely removed from all home influences and family connections and must look to public places of amusement for their entire social life.¹⁰

An increasing appreciation on the part of Negroes for their own productions reflects their growing race consciousness. Negro music, composed by Negroes, is sung, played, and enjoyed by Negroes. This is America's distinctively folk music, and is the greatest contribution of this country to the world of acoustic art. America, however, did not realize its importance or beauty until it was pointed out by the foreign composer, Anton Dvorak.

Music is the tie which always binds oppressed peoples closely together. The Negro of slave days revealed his heart's yearnings in his songs. Like all other folk music, the Negroes have many songs peculiarly descriptive of their native customs and humble toil.

The white race owes to these soul-expressions of its black brother too many moments of happiness, too great a cultural debt to acknowledge ungrudgingly the significant fact that what the Negro has achieved is of tremendous humanizing value. We are beginning to realize that all that Negro singers and sages have uttered is only what the ordinary Negro feels and thinks, in his own measure, every day of his life.

And finally, what our prosaic American civilization needs most of all is precisely the poetry which the average

¹⁰ The best playhouse in Los Angeles for Negroes is the Lincoln Theatre at 23rd Street and Central Avenue.

Oriental, Negro, Mexican, Russian, and Italian actually lives. It is incredible that we of the dominant culture should not offer that tribute and recognition we have so consistently denied to these minority groups at whose cultural springs we, too, have sought refreshment.

More tolerance, more sympathetic insight and intelligent discernment on the part of members of the majority group toward the cultural reserves and sources of inward satisfactions of these highly desirable minority groups would not only make for greater mutual understanding, but for a richer, more inclusive, more resourceful, and more satisfying American culture.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS IN REGARD TO RACE SEGREGATION IN CALIFORNIA

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IN ORDER to make clear the suggestions of this paper a brief statement about the nature of segregation in general may be of use.

I

In their classic discussion of isolation (*Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, Ch. IV), Park and Burgess speak of the essential characteristic of segregation as "found in exclusion from communication." It is apparent that this exclusion may arise from geography and, so far, constitutes a nonsocial limitation upon social process. We recognize, however, that there also goes on constantly the process of differentiation or separation within the group life involving *social* selection among possible contacts. And within this general trend toward social differentiation is found the particular process of compulsory social isolation, imposed upon a weaker group by a stronger. This is segregation proper, though the term is sometimes used in a broader sense. In the meaning which is here given it, barriers to social contact and communication are artificial ones and are socially imposed upon the segregated group. The possibilities of adjustment and of maintainance of life itself for the segregated are found only within definite social limits; the stimulation arising from more general contacts are prohibited; the opportunities of life involved in the larger economic organization are so hedged about by restrictions that the culture of the segregated group develops peculiar characteristics which create and empha-

size the distinctions which separate it from that of the dominant group. This is only to say that segregation is more than a status assigned to a group; it is a social process resulting in the growth of group characteristics and individual personality traits.

There are many types of such segregation disguised or described usually by some single distinguishing mark or trait. In most cases, however, this describing trait does not exist alone, but is found interwoven with many others which may be fundamentally more important than the one used for purposes of description. As illustrating these many varieties of segregated groups one needs only to name, for example, economic groups, ultimately bound together in classes distinguished by economic status; or the segregation may emphasize occupations, the distinction being both economic and cultural. At times, too, religious groups, disapproved by the larger society, have been forced into a position of segregation. In addition to economic positions and culture differences, supposed racial marks are a frequent segregation characteristic, so much so that to many these appear to be the outstanding aspect of nearly all segregation. Nevertheless, so-called race segregation is not an independent type, but is regularly intermingled with economic and cultural segregation, the term race being loosely used as implying and defining a race-culture complex. So-called race inferiority is commonly used to describe a group exhibiting some marks—physical or not—of separate origin and history, the group being confined to an inferior status in which it exhibits a culture distinct from the main society which holds a superior or control status.

It should be further noticed that segregation may be enforced by both law and custom. It places barriers to intermarriage, to places of residence, to numerous occupa-

tions, to school education, and to many varieties of more general social contacts involving religious relationships, travel, recreation and polite associations.

In a world of considerable individual freedom, such as our own, it has not been difficult to realize that "in a free society competition tends to destroy classes and castes." It is by segregation that classes are built up, thriving just in so far as equality in respect to communication is broken down. For it is a basic principle of social life that separation between varieties and levels of culture rests upon some advantage or disadvantage in the nature of the association process itself, that is in contact through communication. The statement, then, that competition in a free society "tends to destroy classes and castes," is usually met by the counter statement that societies are never free, in the sense of free stimulation through equal opportunities of social contact. In particular, it has come to be accepted almost as axiomatic that where there are differences in the physical marks of race, these race marks themselves prevent the free competitive human contact-activities which would normally tend to create a common culture shared by all.¹

II

It seems to the present writer that there is strong reason to doubt this race-mark segregation theorem. I believe that the history of Oriental race contacts with white residents in our coast states leads rather to the conclusion that the separation by race tends to break down just in so far as economic-cultural relations exist upon a plane of normal and reasonably free participating contacts in the economic system and the accompanying culture institutions of the major civilization. In the time at my disposal I can do no more than indicate briefly the grounds for this

¹ See Park's introduction to J. F. Steiner's *The Japanese Invasion*.

judgment which is suggested by the history of Chinese and Japanese settlement in our midst.

The contrast between the life of the Chinese and the Japanese in California is instructive. The Chinese became established here at a time when the quality of their civilization and their governmental power were neither appreciated nor considered by us as worthy of serious regard. They came, too, before Chinese culture had been greatly influenced by Western civilization. They came from an old, conservative, and stationary social organization and system of custom-control of life; and the great majority came from the lower and least independent social stratum of that life. In contrast with this situation the Japanese, as is well known, came at a time when their national political system had felt the influence of western thought and ambitions. Japan was recognized among the world's powers, and its people were self-conscious in respect to this fact; their pride was not in a past culture, unintelligible to Americans (as the Chinese), but in a growing position of recognition and authority among the world's powers.

In both cases, however, the cultures were in marked contrast with our own, and both, as immigrant aliens, came into economic competition with our own people. Attempts to segregate them by law followed; various economic barriers were raised involving restrictions upon occupations, upon land-holding and other activities. Barriers were raised also to educational opportunities, to intermarriage, and (through custom) to residence locations, and to general social intercourse.

It is well known, however, that the reaction in the two cases has been different. The Japanese through their own social organization have tended to resist this segregation. They continually strive to find their way into the general

and larger normal economic system, and upon this basis they succeed, at least to some degree, in participating in the general culture of America. This is not so clear, as yet, in California as in Washington and Oregon. In the Puget Sound country there is evidence of great change in the degree of their progress toward general assimilation, involving the disappearance of race-culture discriminations. Primarily, what has happened is that the Japanese have there succeeded in taking a place in the economic life, developing occupations in which they could show their organizing capacity, and winning support and acceptance by clearly contributing to the general economic welfare. Even the alien land law has ceased to be a barrier, since it has become evident that they handle the land with skill and wisdom. In the island strawberry lands, for instance, I found (1933) the majority of the lands either owned or leased by Japanese who employed Filipino or American Indian labor. These Japanese "business organizers" are not thought of by the whites as a foreign menace, but are accepted and encouraged in their work, because of their recognized skill and economic value to the entire area. And on the basis of this economic participation, cultural differences are disappearing, and the physical race marks are unnoticed. A careful investigation of this situation by a young graduate student at the University of Washington has recently been made, and its findings were reported by him at the meeting of the American Sociological Society last month. It was my good fortune to go over this paper before its presentation and also to have discussed with the writer the general character of the evidence.²

Some phases of this same process may be observed in California, but the movement is slower and the results are

² "The Japanese in the Social Organization of the Puget Sound Region," by John A. Rademaker.

more complicated because of the more intense character of economic conflict in the history of this state.

In marked contrast with this situation in regard to the Japanese, stands the historic and present position of the Chinese in California. Like the Japanese they were and are subjected to segregational laws of different sorts, the most extreme being the dictation of exclusion. The longer history of Chinese exclusion as compared with exclusion of the Japanese, together with the basic difference in attitude of the two sets of immigrant aliens at the time of entrance to our ports, helps to explain the somewhat different psychological reaction of the two groups. What the history of the American-Chinese would have been had they begun their entrance to our life today, with the present Chinese background, or even later when China shall have reached a vigorous national status of the western variety, is a matter of speculation, but suggests the nature of our problem. In addition to legislative barriers there is a long history of the erection by custom of economic and cultural barriers to Chinese participation in our life.

Certain characteristic consequences of this extreme segregation may readily be seen. The Chinese settlers made many attempts to find a place in our economic system, but with relatively little success. As is well known they were crowded out of occupation after occupation, by all sorts of legal and custom persecution. The problem which presents itself to every immigrant group involves a tentative trial-and-error attempt to adapt itself to the ways of the prevailing economic structure in order to find a way of life, while facing the fact that the members of the group are looked upon as strangers. So far the Chinese shared the position of all other alien groups. But struggle was for them more difficult and harsh, not because of physical marks such as yellow skin or slant eyes, but primarily be-

cause of lowly status before coming, complete lack of previous culture contacts between China and our West, and also because of special aspects of our California labor history with its background of lawless violence.

Out of such facts came the building of segregated Chinese colonies or "Chinatowns" of our coast. Certain consequences of such segregation are very suggestive. The first of these characteristics is the arrest of assimilation; and to an unbiased student the evidence is clear that this is not dependent upon physical race marks or upon the background of an unyielding culture. On the contrary, it is an inevitable expression of extreme segregation, particularly in respect to economic relationships. In order to find a way of life the Chinese of our Chinatowns have been forced back upon themselves and have had to develop, first, a peculiar, nonparticipating economic life within their own group almost completely, and second, an abnormal modification or fixation of aspects of their older culture, of such a kind as to suit their abnormal segregated life. Hence it is that they live within themselves, using the old language, adapting old ways to themselves, and presenting to the surrounding Americans mainly such characteristics as bring them into some possible economic exchange interrelationships, or which abnormally emphasize certain culture expressions which to the outsider lend a tang of curious interest, but which under normal contact conditions would long since have disappeared.³

³ The following typical list of major Chinese-American (Chinatown) occupations is extremely suggestive at this point. Comparison with the much wider occupational list of Japanese-American occupations is instructive. For the latter the description given by E. K. Strong (Ch. VI) in his monograph, *Japanese in America*, is instructive.

1. Chinese-style restaurants. (Largely, though not entirely, serving white visitors.)
2. Importing and exporting trade. Partly serving general commerce; also supplying tourist demand.
3. Curio shops; for tourist trade.
4. Hand laundries—a service occupation dating back to earlier Chinese-American traditional relationships; now decreasing. (continued on following page)

To illustrate: the very limited economic contact of Chinatown with American economic life is most evident in the tourist trade. This depends on the buyer's curiosity for the strange; hence the Chinatown exaggeration of the strange. But the informed observer realizes that this cultivated strangeness is not the real China; it is like chop suey—made for the curious American. Perhaps there is no better way to describe the culture consequences of such extreme segregation than to call it "chop suey culture."

On the basis of this fact that economic life is mainly restricted to relations within the small group itself, except where it can meet the outsider's appetite for strange ways and products, may be found the explanation of other consequences. In a study not many years ago of the criminal record of Orientals in California the writer found a great contrast between Chinese and Japanese. The Japanese crime record reveals only a small total number of offenses and these largely of a minor sort. An acquaintance with Japanese life and organization on the coast shows the influence of their determined effort not to become a segregated group, but to participate in the larger economic organization, and to hasten this by controlled behavior. On the other hand, while the Chinese record for crime is not in general excessive in amount, the particular incidence of its crime is very instructive. A heavy percentage has tended to occur in a few particular forms which are by us looked upon as Chinese. Gambling by types of games which are of Oriental origin is to us a crime, but not so in

5. Groceries and similar general stores, almost completely restricted to supplying needs of resident Chinese.

6. Gambling houses.

7. Narcotic businesses (disguised).

The latter two are dual in their service. In part they supply a visitor-demand for strange experiences; in part they serve the segregated colony itself much as night-clubs, speak-easies, et cetera, serve white residents.

the culture of the early Chinese immigrants. In ordinary conditions of social contacts there is every reason to believe that these culture habits would have disappeared in a normal process of assimilation. But they did not do so, and so they swell the record of Chinese crime. Yet the explanation is clear; as far as the outsider is concerned Chinese gambling games have a monetary "strangeness-value," and as far as the inner Chinatown life is concerned they represent and give evidence of that arrested assimilation process which is the inevitable consequence of extreme segregation. It is of the same character as the fact that large numbers of Chinese-American children cannot speak English when they start to school, not because they belong to recent accessions to Chinatown (there are very few of these) but because to a segregated group there is no great incentive to learn the new language, and because segregation prevents such contacts as normally lead to the acquisition of the surrounding culture. In a similar way the history of Chinese tongs in California is interesting. In the early days they exhibited much of violence, just as early white vigilante organization also was violent, or as today gang life is violent. The tongs represent a struggle at self-organization in which more violent elements were often able to seize control. They are not, however, simply reproduced old Chinese organizations, but through a process of years of segregation here they have gradually become adapted to this segregated life as inner regulative and mutually protective organizations, but usually controlled now by the law-abiding elements. Hence tong-murders, which have been earlier a considerable factor in the record of our Chinese crimes, have now almost disappeared.

In these and other respects there is a further illuminating contrast between the Chinese-Americans of Chinatown

and the groups of Chinese youth who have been coming to us recently for purposes of higher education. The latter come from New China, in contact both with the world economic life and with the major aspects of world culture, including language. Hence they are eager, constructive, forward-looking men and women, sharing the world's confusion but also its hopes. On the contrary, many of the American-Chinese in Chinatown are out of touch with new world culture and find no economic status adequate to their ambitions. Many of the more energetic individuals are going "back" to China—to a world unknown to them; while others are apathetic, careless, and essentially abnormal in behavior—a frequent consequence of segregation.

This analysis of Chinatown life indicates clearly that the segregation process regularly affects individual personality growth. It does so by exaggerating the consciousness of group and individual limitations, ending in an inferiority psychosis. Other varieties of segregated groups (not racial) show the same consequence. The group which is dominated by poverty tends to exhibit the consciousness of living behind closed doors which shut out hope. So criminals tend to become conscious of their lack of acceptance in the general social life, and this consciousness in time creates in them a type of personality so fixed that we talk of fixed criminal traits.

Summarizing the argument presented we may conclude that the characteristics of race segregation which have been suggested do not seem to differ in consequences from segregation which does not involve race. The essential mark of segregation is limitation of contacts through communication; and since economic life is the basis for all other aspects of culture, the most fundamental consequence of segregation is that it involves more or less complete ex-

clusion from regular placement in the economic system. The price which societies pay for restricting opportunities by erecting against certain groups barriers to participation in the larger economic-cultural possibilities is simply that the depressed group develops those abnormal types of behavior which fit the segregated life, but which prevent wholesome contribution to the general social welfare. We miss the point, therefore, when we assign these so-called peculiar mental traits to something biologically inherent in the segregated group, such as race quality or group innate capacity or criminal instincts, or what not, none of which have any tangible existence as far as our real knowledge goes.

So-called race segregation really means economic-cultural segregation to an inferior status. Such segregation does not rest on inherent group inferiority; it creates it. If geographic isolation has created (as many students believe) physical race characteristics, so social isolation—that is, segregation—creates the culture marks of the segregated group. Nor are the physical race marks the basis of segregation; they are indeed associated with the segregation characteristics, but whenever the segregation barriers have been lifted, thereby permitting the segregated group to share adequately in the larger economic-cultural system, these physical race marks form no permanent bar to the complete assimilation of the group.

THE BIOLOGY OF RACE RELATIONS

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THE RACE PROBLEM is very old and is with us still, because people usually have an intense dislike for and suspicion of aliens. If we think a moment we can realize why this is true. Our whole civilization is based upon coöperation and loyalty to the group to which we belong,—the family, the little village or neighborhood, the state, and the nation. To look beyond these narrow boundaries requires a breadth of experience and idealism achieved by few, yet science and invention have brought the whole world into close communication. They have strengthened the means of competition in trade and of destruction in warfare, making mutual understanding and friendly coöperation more imperative than ever before.

But the world is full of the sound and fury of race hatreds, and the claims of national aspirations—thinly veiled threats of aggression.

In the olden times when warfare meant personal combat the stronger or more alert had a real advantage and better chance of survival, but in these days warfare has become impersonal and masses of troops are exposed to great peril or certain death from invisible distant enemies.

It may be urged that victory of a super-race over other peoples would supplant the poorer stock by the better. This argument was put forth by many of the German militarists before the world war and now one hears it again. "Warfare is a fundamental biological law leading to the survival of the fittest." "It is right that the super-race should crowd out the inferior peoples." When this argument is coupled with the quasi-religious doctrine of

the "chosen people" it is only human for any strong and ambitious nation to consider itself divinely appointed to set forth to holy conquest if it is thought that there is anything to be gained by it.

The possibility of gain from modern military aggression does not concern us here, but we are interested in the race questions involved. We have plenty of examples of one race being supplanted by another in whole or in part. This is true in certain parts of Polynesia, in Australia, in portions of the Americas. Where the conquering race is far more advanced than the conquered this principle may be operative in whole or in part; but it is the exception rather than the rule.

On the other hand, conquest may work to the very great advantage of the conquered, as witness the situation in Java where the natives have multiplied under the administration of the Dutch until they are over ten times as numerous as in 1800. The economic development of a country, protection against petty warfare, and the introduction of sanitation and medical care repeatedly have been shown to cause great increase in subject populations, especially if they fit into the economic plans of the conquerors. In warfare between civilized nations conquest may bring political and economic changes, but seldom is there any appreciable replacement of one race by another. Races are fairly well rooted to the soil, and maintain their identity in spite of the storms that may sweep over them. There is a rather general rule in our modern life that those we are wont to call the lower classes have larger numbers of children per family than do those of the higher classes. Thus it comes about that a conquering nation forming the upper classes may even cause the increase of the subject people by developing a superior economic system and forcing the subject race into a lower social stratum with consequent increase in rate of reproduction.

The British, Spanish, and to a lesser degree, the French and Dutch have succeeded in colonizing their own people in distant lands within modern times, but this has been possible only against inferior savage races, and we have the examples of the tenacity of the French in Canada and of the Dutch in South Africa in the face of later conquest by the British.

Actually, national boundaries and even boundaries of language and culture do not coincide with racial boundaries. We are well aware that the three chief races of Europe—Nordic, Alpine, and Mediterranean—occur in varying proportions in most of the countries of Europe, so that wars between Germany, France, Italy, and Great Britain are not primarily wars between races, but between different combinations of the underlying stocks with their superficial differences of language, history, and national customs. Immigration is a far more important factor in race problems than is war. Many and varied have been the reasons offered to account for the fall of Greece and Rome but among them one must certainly take account of the introduction of vast hordes of slaves into the population. They multiplied rapidly, their blood was mingled with that of their masters, and gradually they came to swallow up the dominant race.

Often enough the slaves have survived long after the masters have passed away. Negroes brought to the West Indies have thriven amazingly and have almost crowded out the whites in Barbados, Jamaica, and the other British possessions. In Haiti they killed off their white masters and in the Dominican Republic they intermarried with Spanish stock until practically none of pure white blood remain.

There are several biological points to note in race mixture:

1. As far as we know any interracial union is fertile.
2. The second generation is likewise fertile, and decreased fertility of the half-breeds is hardly demonstrated even in mulattos where it has been asserted to occur.
3. While it often has been claimed that the products of race mixture in man are more virile and have greater ability than pure stock, there is no convincing evidence that they are either stronger or weaker than the parent races.
4. The products of race mixture inherit qualities from both races according to Mendelian principles and tend in the sum of their qualities to be intermediate. Later marriages between half-breeds tend to produce a random sorting out of characters.
5. In mixed races characters may not be inherited in a harmonious fashion. For instance the large teeth of one race may be placed in the small jaws of the other, and other rather marked disharmonies are likely to occur, although these are not often significant.

Human races side by side for many generations as in the case of Lapps and Finns living in the midst of Scandinavian Nordics; Negroes living amidst white races, different racial stocks in Ireland and Scotland—all of these cases and many more show that racial traits are not impressed upon the stock by the environment, at least not within some thousands of years.

It would seem to me a great pity if representatives of the many races of our own country were mixed together in a great "melting pot" to come forth a compromise between clever and simple, strong and weak, dextrous and clumsy—a mixture of white, black, red, and yellow into a drab uniformity. We can have the highest appreciation of each race separately and of the unique contribution that each makes to civilization. Any thinking person measurably free from prejudice can and should appreciate the good qualities of alien peoples; but I for one abhor mixture of widely separated races, and yet the close association of races inevitably leads to it.

According to Holmes¹ the Negro population increase from 1910 to 1920 was 6%, while for the next decade, 1920-1930, it had risen to 13%. Allowing for errors in the earlier estimate this is a striking increase, and yet the rate is not so great as that of 15.5% in the total population for the same period.

The Oriental immigration upon our Pacific coast presents another race problem with its attendant jealousies and hatreds, but a fair minded person can see little to criticize in the character and behavior of our Chinese and Japanese. Industrious, law abiding, cleanly, courteous, they play an important rôle in our economy.

The influx of Mexican laborers with their high proportion of Indian blood has also helped to solve the problem of cheap labor for our land-holding farmers and the rough labor of our cities and our railroads, but it has created another race problem, as have so many of our efforts to introduce aliens to do our work for us.

As a boy I well remember marching in torch-light processions and shouting for Benjamin Harrison and protection for the American workingman to enable him to enjoy a high standard of living that would bring a golden flood of profits to all. High tariff walls were erected to exclude imports of goods made by pauper labor, and then the noble patriots who had espoused the cause of the American workingman brought in hordes of foreign laborers willing to work for a lower wage. This policy of paying low wages to immigrant laborers from Russia, Italy, Greece, Poland, and Hungary continued to pour wealth into the pockets of our capitalists until we had a royal crop of millionaires.

Biologists such as Madison Grant, East, Guyer, Holmes, and others have looked with serious alarm upon the rapid increase of alien elements among our original population

¹ Samuel Johnson Holmes, "Changing Effects of Race Competition," *Science*, February 19, 1932.

of English stock with its later accretions of Irish, Scotch, German, and Scandinavian elements. They feel alarm lest these related peoples with their preponderance of Nordic blood might undergo an amalgamation with Slavic and Mediterranean stock and thus change so that the American of the future would become racially a very different person from the American who founded our country and established our institutions. They have pointed out that these immigrants have been shown to be of inferior quality as measured in army tests, and from the records of our public institutions. Can peoples with racial traits and temperament different from the old English stock maintain the institutions of our government and the traditions of our social life? After all, these are rooted not alone in tradition and custom but in the biological traits of the race. Raymond Pearl for one does not share this fear. Difference of opinion upon a question such as this is quite natural, yet rapid changes in our economic conditions have presented new aspects of the problem. A few years ago we could well believe that we needed a large proportion of cheap labor but the economic debacle of the last few years has brought us face to face with the problem of caring for the multitudes of people thrown out of work by the development of machinery. New demands are made upon mechanical skill and resourcefulness. Dullards in a manufacturing plant are a liability, not an asset.

The records of foreign immigration do not tell the whole story of racial invasion into this country. The immigrant stock has a vastly higher birth rate than the native stock, which will cause them to far outnumber our Nordic race if it is continued.

I venture the hope that we may not proceed too hastily along the line of race amalgamation. The change once

made is irrevocable. We should spend many years assimilating and appraising our present racial mixture before adding to it. With sincere appreciation of the greatness of alien peoples and of the special contributions that each has made toward civilization we venture the hope that our country may continue to stand for certain ideals that have made us what we are.

THE ABORIGINES OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

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AT THE BEGINNING of this paper I wish to disclaim any specialized knowledge of the Indians of California. My field has been the Indians of the Pueblo plateau and of Mexico and Central America. Some observations on the aborigines of Southern California in comparison with those of my own field is the purpose of this paper. The theme of this series of meetings being "Races in Southern California," I shall offer for your consideration only the broadest aspect of the problem of our native race, namely, that of its survival.

The question becomes imminent when we recall that there has been approximately ninety per cent decline in the Indian population of California since the white race undertook its guardianship. In many places formerly well populated, the decline long since reached one hundred per cent,—virtually extinction. The survivors south of the Tehachapi constitute the subject of this inquiry.

I wish to preface the argument by calling attention to the fact that this vast decline has not been due to absorption into the white population except in small part. The cold, stark fact is, the population has died at an abnormally high rate. Moreover, this decline set in and proceeded along with the benevolent and perfectly intelligent work of the Franciscans, the missionization of the Indians. One finds nothing to criticize in the methods and work of the missions. The missionization of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico carried on in substantially the same manner was attended by no such mortality. The general treatment of the Indians of California by the white people was

not such as would bring on an abnormally high death rate. It was practically the same as in New Mexico and in old Mexico south to the Aztec country. There the aborigines survived and multiplied. In California they perished. At the present time, the increase of Navajo and Pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona and of Tarahumara, Yaqui, Tepahuanes, Otomi, and Aztecs of old Mexico compares favorably with that of the white race over the same area. In Southern California, the population is now holding its own.

Inquiry into this interesting and contradictory situation must begin in the period when the culture of the American aborigines was developed under its own natural formative conditions—before the pressure of any external racial influence was felt. For this purpose I wish to present briefly for comparison the contrast between the pre-Columbian culture of the American Southwest and that of Southern California.

In the Southwest, human conditions were shaped and controlled by the semidesert environment. Existence was primarily dependent on one factor—water; secondarily, upon conditions subordinate to the major factor. Population was limited by proximity to springs and streams and the adequacy and permanence of the water supply. Human life was dependent upon the products of the soil. The sociological result was the Pueblo communities; later, in modified form, the Navajo groups. Society was anchored to the soil, preoccupied with a food quest that was relatively sure and simple. Agriculture was the main business of life, supplemented in a small way by hunting. To insure the fruits of the soil and of the hunt, the Indian of the Southwest sought to understand his world, to enlist all the forces of the cosmos in his struggle for existence. He had the advantage of vast spaces, of time for contempla-

tion, of comparative freedom from the pressure of enemies from without, at least in the early stages. He acquired a clear, natural, reasonable view of life. These cosmic forces meant everything to him. They were deified. A culture dominated by ceremony and ritual which, once established, was invariable, was the result. Nowhere else in the world, to my knowledge, do we find so clear an example of a philosophy of life, in this case essentially a religious philosophy, so coercive as to dominate every phase of culture.

The Indian of the Southwest mastered the few industrial processes necessary to his welfare. There was little to induce improvement. The dry farming of the Hopi of a thousand years ago was as efficient as it is today. Our government experts have not improved upon the procedure. The principal accessory was the planting stick for depositing the seeds deep down below the surface where moisture is retained even in the desert sands. It still beats the white man's corn planter. Friends of the Indian, official and unofficial, have long sought to instruct him in some of the elements of our system of planned economics. They have proven unattractive, though appealing to his subtle sense of humor.

Equally significant among the culture traits of the Indians of the Southwest were such arts as pottery making, basketry, weaving in various forms. These were their cultural possessions from earliest times, and passed far beyond the realm of useful arts. They were aesthetic achievements of the highest order, unquestionably affording to the Indian profound satisfaction in an environment that to us seems hard and with a life that we would consider devoid of most of the necessities of existence. In their aesthetics they are as obtuse as in their industries. They resist the power loom, the potter's wheel, quantity production in every form. The struggle between stark

utility and inherent love of beauty in their lives is pathetic but in the conflict between the tin lard pail and the clay water jar, shaped with infinite love and embellished in color and design that expresses both the individual and racial spirit, the latter has it when given half a chance. In religion the southwestern Indian is only apparently pliable. His esoteric life is not susceptible to profound conversion. His ancient rituals minister to his actual, spiritual needs. He may take on something from Catholicism, something from Protestantism, but it is only medicine of secondary importance, not to be depended upon. The white man's deity, the church's saints, arouse no antagonism, but unfailing potency resides in Tan Sendo (the Sun Father), and in the Plumed Serpent.

In matters physical the superb endowment of the southwestern Indian supported by a coercive social system has served him extraordinarily well. Grave as have been the consequences of his acquisition from the whites of whiskey and venereal disease, he has survived their devastation and is holding his own against them now at least as well as the white man is.

Much that I have said here of the southwestern Indian could be said of the Indian of Aztec Mexico. There was the same highly organized community life, the same closely integrated culture, the same obstinate resistance to change, the same persistence of ancient culture traits. Like the Pueblo, the Mexican Indian possessed the urge to build permanent towns and temples for community religious expression, thus obtaining a perpetual anchorage in his native soil. How tenacious he was of his right to his land is seen in the endemic spirit of revolution in Mexico lasting through centuries under Spanish rule; the agrarian problem reaching its climax in the late revolution which resulted in the emergence of the patrimonial system

that insured to the Indian communities the lands which had been their inheritance through the ages.

The wise educational program of Mexico which is rapidly taking shape is based on the proposition laid down by the educational philosopher Moises Saenz that culture is of more importance than civilization and that the restoration of the ancient arts and crafts of the people, the practice of which brought happiness and contentment to them through countless generations, is essential and possible. In these he sees the essentials for their future education. He is everlastingly right.

In one Rio Grande pueblo, by an experiment extending over twenty years, now influencing the entire Pueblo population, we have demonstrated that the fine old arts and crafts, such as pottery making, painting, lapidary, leather, and bead work, which had sadly degenerated and in some communities entirely disappeared, were simply dormant, could be revived, successfully practiced in spite of the pressure of modern progress, to the great joy and profit of the Indians. It is with much satisfaction that we note that our system of Indian education has for some years past been in process of revision and is being made to conform to some sound principles of ethnic psychology.

You may be thinking by this time that this is not a paper on the aborigines of Southern California. I have presented the above facts in the belief that therein lies the answer to the inquiry with which we started out. The Indians of Southern California developed a culture comparatively unstable and easily disintegrated. There was among many groups seasonal migration between coast and back country, following the food supply. At times the estuaries of the coast swarmed with rafts of tule, the shores teemed with a camp population, enjoying for a time an aquatic life. With the change of season, this was transferred to the

hill country, and the acorn became the staple food, approaching in importance the corn of the Southwest and Mexico. Houselife was of the simplest and most fragile sort. There was lack of the permanent, substantial building culture that characterized the areas described above. We note the absence of the deeply matured ritualistic life so potent in shaping social structure. In the arts characteristic of the Indian race generally, the Indians of Southern California were preëminent only in basket making. This they have clung to most tenaciously, but it must disappear with the destruction of the material which made it possible. The teaching of crafts and trades in the missions failed to meet the cultural necessities of the Indians. The culture that he had was doubtless precious to the California Indian, but it lacked the essentials of stability and permanence. As material for his future education it is inadequate even if it could be revived.

So the California Indian was without the sustaining influence of a stable, integrated culture to help him withstand the impact of civilization. The potency of tradition cannot be overestimated in culture history. What we call the spirit of man, the genius of a people, is the reflection of those culture traits that are the human heritage from a formative past. Therein lies joy in life, stability of character, continuity of purpose, hope of survival. You may be saying: Therein also lie stagnation, lack of progress, failure to attain civilization. To argue that proposition is beyond the scope of this paper, though I cannot refrain from observing that humanity craves always the opportunity to live, holds existence in any state preferable to nonexistence, finds happiness in creative achievement, however small, and delights in the practice of those activities which have spiritually enriched the race. This is a heritage of which no people can justly be deprived. In the

process of saving souls the spirit of man has sometimes been terribly broken and his physical survival defeated.

The conclusions of this inquiry then are that the California Indians were not constituted to withstand the impact of the European civilization, their inferiority of endowment being both cultural and physical. The Pueblos and Navajo of the Southwest suffered temporary decline, recovered, and have attained an assured survival through firm cultural resistance and the recovery before it was too late of their cultural virility when it was on the decline. The Indians of old Mexico, in spite of incredibly adverse conditions for some centuries, are in a fair way to become the backbone of a great nation, depending upon the continuation of the present wise policy of conservation of their ancient cultural heritage, and its utilization in the building of a civilization that may become almost one hundred per cent American. The Indians of California, deficient in cultural background, defeated in the struggle for survival, present a less hopeful picture. Never having attained to a firm, integrated culture, they were lacking in resistance, and rapidly broke down under the pressure of white civilization. They show little promise of recuperation. They well illustrate the principle that no people can survive the destruction of its culture whether it be high or low. The exercise of its endowment is the only assurance of survival that any race can have. No advantage should be denied the California Indian. It is not likely that the decline in population will be permanently arrested. Every effort should be made to advance the interests of the efficient individuals who emerge from the disappearing mass. Their destiny is probably absorption. If so, they should by all possible physical and intellectual improvement be made as worthy an element as they can be in the breed that is to constitute our future population.

RACIALISM AS DOGMA*

LÉON R. YANKWICH

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I

"ALL IS RACE, there is no other truth." Thus speaks Disraeli through one of his characters in *Endymion*.

"Kein Mensch kann sich nicht der Wirkung der in seinem Blut geltenden rassischen Gestaltgesetze entziehen,"¹ writes a Nazi propagandist.

These declarations might well be used to sum up racialism as a dogma. The dogma implies emphasis upon racial characteristics as the basis of personality. It also stresses racial traits as dominant in the group. Having seized upon certain traits as desirable, it seeks to trace them to factors of race. It then identifies these traits with a particular culture, *usually its own*. From that to a claim of cultural superiority, grounded upon a race, is but a step. That, the racialist usually takes. So that, ultimately, racialism ends by dividing racial groups into superior and inferior. Upon this basis it justifies domination or attempted domination of its own superior group over others. This is its racial destiny, to which all must ultimately give way. To uphold this, the racialist is ready to justify the least desirable qualities of mankind, to defend barbaric methods, and, if necessary, to part company with decency, morality, and the refined ways of civilization, if they stand in the way of his claims. It is thus a return to

* Editorial note: Space permits the publication of only three excerpts from Judge Yankwich's paper. For the same reason the author's excellent notes are being omitted. Anyone interested in examining the completely documented report should address the author, care of the Superior Court, Los Angeles County. The omitted portions deal with Gobineau, H. S. Chamberlain, and Madison Grant as racialists.

¹ Dr. Ludwig Ferdinand Clauss, in *Sonntag Abend*, XXXVII (Sept. 10, 1933).

the tribalism of the Old Testament which justified the most atrocious acts when done in aid of the chosen people. Like it, it has a degree of inevitability about it,—a predestination. Until its enthronement as a dogma of State in the Germany of The Third Reich, racialism remained in the domain of speculation, although here and there it may have formed the background for the attitude of dominant groups, and of whole nations, towards racial or ethnical groups whom they sought to dominate, exploit, or destroy.

II

RACIALISM IN THE GERMANY OF TODAY

The Germany of today has enthroned racialism as a State dogma. Adolf Hitler and his Nazi followers have grounded their entire theory of state upon the doctrine of race. The theoretical basis of this doctrine has been stated by Hitler himself in his work, *Mein Kampf*.

Each race has its qualities, which determine the character of its culture. Culture is product of race. Our entire civilization is the product of a few peoples and, perhaps, of one race. All great cultures of the past have disappeared when the creative race which gave them birth died of blood contamination (*Blutvergiftung*). This blood corruption results from intermingling of superior with inferior races. From it results the lowering of the level of the superior race, and bodily and moral deterioration. Mankind may be divided into culture-creators, culture-bearers, and culture-destroyers. The Aryan is the greatest creative race. He created the foundations and walls of men's creations, the individual peoples giving them only form and color. Had the Aryans not mixed with other races, their superiority would have resulted in their domination of the world. To the Aryan elements does the German nation owe its greatness. Any deterioration in its physical and

moral make-up has been due to intermixture with non-Aryan elements.

To the Aryan, Hitler opposes the Jew as a disturbing and disintegrating element, not possessing a culture of his own,—living a parasitic life among the nations, but not being of them. Upon this racial ideology, Hitler builds his conception of the state. The state is not an end but a means to an end. It does not create culture. Its object is merely to allow free development of racial forces. Of course, by that is meant the development of those racial elements which constitute the best elements in the creation of culture. The holiest right of man, which is also his holiest duty, is to keep the blood pure. The state must help achieve this. To this end, the purification of the race of its non-Aryan elements, must the entire energy of the state be devoted, so that purity of the race be restored and the destiny of the German people achieved.

It is beyond the scope of this study to enumerate the means which Hitler proposed, in his book, to achieve these results, and the autocratic state he proposed to build. It is also beyond our scope to discuss the State which he has created, or the means that have been taken since the rise of the Nazis to power to purge the public service, and the professions, of non-Aryan elements. Of course, these measures have been chiefly directed against the Jews. Anti-Semitism is not new in Germany. Under Hitler it has merely been erected into a doctrine of statecraft.

The full scope of the ideology behind Hitler's racialism is found in the following directions given by the Minister of Interior of the Third Reich for the teaching of history in German schools:

The history manuals are to begin with the prehistory of Central Europe (the glacial epoch). They are to show that at this time very well defined races (Neanderthal, Aurignac, Cro-Magnon) created

distinct civilizations. From then on, it will be pointed out, civilization is a creature of race. Later this fact was overshadowed, but not destroyed, by the mingling of races. The Nordic race covers Europe during the post-glacial period. . . . The history of Europe is the work of the peoples of Nordic race. . . . During the fifth century before Christ, the Nordics spread over Asia Minor and North Africa. The first great influence exercised over Asia, before that time, was the work of the Hindus, the Medes, Persians, and Hittites, peoples come from the North and of the Nordic race. The students must follow the destinies of these peoples as being those of their own forebears, who finally succumbed through the mixture of blood, not, however, without creating, in Persia and India, great civilizations.

Greek history must begin in Central Europe. It must be insisted that the Greeks are our nearest racial kin, which explains our intimate knowledge of Greek art. . . . As conquerors, the Greeks were the Lords of conquered provinces, and the class struggle was grounded, in reality, upon a conflict of races. The significance of the great Germanic invasions of the first centuries of our era lies in the fact that they brought to the mixed races of the Roman empire, a stream of fresh Nordic blood. Medieval civilizations flourished where the Teutons (*Germanen*) established themselves definitely: in the North of Italy, Spain, France, England, but not in the South of Italy, or the Balkans.

(The infiltration of Teutonic blood in Russia, the outline states, was too small to influence civilization there.)

But, the students are to be taught,

The brilliance of chivalry in the middle ages, in Western, Central and Southern Europe, can be explained only by the fact that, in all these territories, the governing classes, were made up of Teutons (*Germanen*).

It will be interesting to read one of the history manuals, —to see how the facts of history are made to fit into these fantastic claims.

III

RACIALISM ASSAYED

And now, *multis verbis habitis*, we have come to the end of the discussion. And the question is:

How stands racial theory today in the light of anthropology, ethnology, and history?

For convenience of discussion, racial group-designations are used. But even the primary groups are not identified with a definite habitat.

There are, today, no pure races.

Even the Jews, of whom the racialists speak so much, are not a pure race,—if they may be considered a race at all.

Pittard writes: "There is no more a Christian race than a Mussulman race. And neither is there any such thing as a Jewish race."² An English writer has stated the matter from a historical standpoint:

And it is accordingly vain to assert a racial unity of Jews. As they are today, even allowing for intermarriages among themselves, the Jews, so far as racial origin is concerned, are as mixed a people as any in Europe or elsewhere. If there are to be found in them characteristics more or less common to all, they are not due to identity or race.³

What gives them unity is a psychology,—grounded upon religion, nurtured by centuries of separation and persecution, and retained even today through changes in environment brought on by migrations, and by a revived Jewish nationalism.

Races have intermingled since the beginning of history. Often the characteristics of one group are found in a more pronounced form in the opposite group. Investigations

²Eugène Pittard, *Race and History*, p. 31.

³R. Travers Herford, *The Influence of Judaism Upon the Jew, in the Legacy of Israel*, pp. 97, 103.

have shown a pitifully small prevalence of some Nordic characteristics among the most Nordic of Nordics, the Scandinavians. As groups intermingle freely, they become integrated and distinctiveness disappears. Social barriers may be more effective in maintaining distinctiveness than race.⁴

We cannot speak of absolute superiority due to race. It is doubtful if even the Negro can be definitely branded as congenitally inferior. Speaking of the American Negro, Boas says that his traits are "adequately explained on the basis of his history and social status."⁵

Of course, there are differences between groups forming racial entities. And it may even be admitted that some group, like the Nordic, may have achieved ascendancy and excellency in certain fields. But this may be explained entirely by historical facts, unconnected with race. And even if traceable to race, there is no assurance of continuity. There is no predictability in culture. Instances exist of changes occurring without any racial change. The Scandinavian countries, so Nordic in structure, seem to have lost some of the fighting and imperialistic qualities which some race theorists associate with the Nordic. They seem to carry on an almost *petit bourgeois* culture,—more like the plebeian, democratic civilizations of the Latins, of which Nordic racialists speak with such contempt. And despite the fact that Chamberlain considers freedom one of the two essential qualities which have made for the greatness of the Teuton, its spirit seems to have been eclipsed in the Germany of Hitler. The world has never witnessed a more abject surrender of freedom, by a supposedly free people, as the surrender of the German people's representatives in the Reichstag, after the triumph of Hitler. The "total"

⁴ Robert H. Lowie, *Are We Civilized?* pp. 24-32.

⁵ Franz Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man*, p. 272

state has enslaved the citizen politically. It has also enslaved education and religion. Repudiating the tradition of Magna Carta, which Chamberlain considers the work of German Barons⁶, and which established the principle of limited sovereignty, the Teutons of modern Germany have established a state in which, in Oriental fashion, the individual is annihilated.

If the racialists are right, what has become of that race-spirit of freedom of the Teuton,—which Chamberlain opposes to the authoritarian spirit of the Papacy and of Ignatius de Loyola?⁷

The racialist cannot answer. But the answer of science to the fantastic claims of racialism is contained in the short sentence of a distinguished American anthropologist, "Race cannot explain culture."⁸

⁶ Houston Stewart Chamberlain, *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, tr. by John Lees, II, p. 183.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 563-73.

⁸ Lowie, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

Round Table Notes

Pacific Sociological Society

1. Round Table No. 1. ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF RACIAL PROBLEMS.
Dr. George B. Mangold, Chairman; Dr. Melvin J. Vincent,
Leader.

"Racial Problems in the Recent Garment Workers' Strike." Mr. David Ziskind presented this report. He had served as attorney-at-law for the garment workers of Los Angeles in their recent conflict with the garment manufacturers. The principal cause of the strike lay in the low rate of wages given the women workers. Racially, this group represented about 40 per cent of American-born women, 35 per cent Mexican, and 25 per cent Jewish. The employer group was, however, 90 per cent Jewish. Of the workers, the Mexican women were the lowest paid group. In the actual conflict, the Jewish women took the initiative, and the Americans were the most docile. Racial backgrounds did not interfere with the solidarity of the workers. Union affiliation of the Mexican women was easily accomplished when they received the sanction of their church, the Catholic, although they had had previously no labor union experience. The strike has been temporarily settled, but the majority of the workers have not been taken back, and the leaders of the strike have been "blacklisted." Those taken back are receiving higher rates of pay. Many of the unemployed Jewish women are leaving the city, others are waiting passively for better times.

"The Negro and His Economic Problem in Southern California." Mr. Floyd C. Covington, Executive-Secretary of the Los Angeles Urban League, gave a very fine report on this subject. By means of illustrated charts he demonstrated the attempts of the Negro to make an "economic high jump." With each jump, the Negro has had to face a severe form of competition on the part of other groups or events. Emancipated from slavery, the Negro was inducted into household employment, and, ever since, this kind of employment has been held "the traditional nigger job." Unskilled labor jobs have been given him, but he has had to face competition at the hands of immigrant groups. A few Negroes have found their way into the skilled labor groups, but the machine has been a strong competitive factor. Always discriminated against on account of color, the Negro feels that this is in part due to a continuance of a cultural lag origi-

nating in the slave days. Mr. Covington realistically showed in part the meaning of this for the Negro by presenting advertisements carrying the stereotypes of the domestic Negro, such as "Aunt Jemima," the "Cream of Wheat chef," and the "Gold Dust Twins." These pictures, placed continually before the buying public, tend to keep alive the traditional rôle of the Negro of a by-gone day.

"Economic Aspects of the Mexican Problem in Southern California." Dr. R. J. Carreon, Jr., sympathetically portrayed the plight of the Mexican laborer in southern California. The Mexican, he held, felt a deep loyalty for California because of his ancestors, who had originally settled and prepared California for the Americans. There still exists among the Mexicans a feeling that they rightfully belong in California. As in the case of the Negro, the Mexican suffers from a stereotype, that of the dark-skinned man with sombrero and overalls. When thinking of the Mexican, the picture of the peon is aroused in the minds of the Americans who then treat all Mexicans as such. In 1930, about 175,601 Mexicans were located in Los Angeles County. Of these, 28,000 have been deported into Mexico, some of these having been American citizens. Of the 72,600 people receiving county aid at present, approximately one seventh are Mexicans. A Mexican Relief Committee, of which Dr. Carreon is a member, has been formed and hopes to be able to shoulder more and more the responsibility of taking care of its own countrymen.

In conclusion, Mr. Rowland H. Loh presented a brief plea for the recognition of the right of the Chinese born in the United States to become Americans in fact, as well as legally.

The discussions clearly showed the handicaps of racial uniforms in American economic life. Social justice seems to have miscarried. An outstanding contribution of the round table was the fact that racial discriminations are keenly felt by Jewish, Mexican, Japanese, Chinese, and Negro alike. A stronger social bond of sympathy among the racial representatives was noted as a result of the rehearsal of their common experiences.

2. Round Table No. 2. EDUCATIONAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF RACE PROBLEMS. Dean Lester B. Rogers, Chairman; Dean Marvin L. Darsie, Leader.

"The Significance of Intelligence Tests of Racial Groups." Dean Marvin L. Darsie, in presenting this report, stated that in the last two decades more than one hundred studies have been made in-

volving intelligence tests of racial groups. If the results are accepted at par, in terms of the raw data secured, the ranking of racial groups in America is approximately as follows:

1. Native American
2. North European, Hebrew
3. Chinese, Japanese
4. Central and Southern European
5. Negro, Mexican, Amerind

These findings, however, cannot be accepted at par. There are important and puzzling questions which the test surveys do not answer. These problems may be analyzed as follows:

1. What do these tests used really measure?

The great majority of all so-called intelligence tests have derived validity from the Stanford Revision of the Binet-Simon Scale. The Stanford Revision was validated through correlation with school marks and teachers' estimates of intelligence. It is evident, therefore, that the intelligence tests are really measures of scholastic aptitude.

2. Is the group tested a valid sample of the race?

Two questions immediately present themselves. The first involves the racial purity of the sample. This difficulty is probably insuperable in the case of varieties of the white "race," and almost as great when dealing with Negro and Asiatic groups.

The second problem lies in the difficulty of ascertaining whether immigration to the United States has been representative of the parent stock as a whole, or whether certain selective processes have been involved.

3. To what extent do environmental influences play a part in intelligence scores?

This question presents a series of puzzling problems. Almost uniformly, urban children surpass those of rural districts, quite regardless of race. Likewise children of professional and well-to-do parents uniformly make higher scores than do those whose parents belong to the industrial groups. Are these results due to differences in environmental stimulus and opportunity, or do they reflect the possible fact that membership in a city population or favored economic status is the result of a selective process in which superior intelligence finds its true level?

4. Have the educational opportunities of the groups compared been parallel?

In view of the strongly scholastic and linguistic character of most intelligence tests, it is likely that school training plays a definite part in scores made in such tests.

5. Does racial prejudice raise barriers to the expression of normal ambition as regards social, political, or occupational status?

This is a subtle factor which may affect the attitude of large population groups toward any form of social or intellectual achievement, and consequently lead to more or less apathetic attitudes toward any form of testing.

6. What is the effect of emotional-volitional attitude upon test performance?

It seems entirely probable that there are racial differences in attitude toward testing of any sort. This may be due to the effects of prejudice, as noted above, or to culture patterns, or conceivably to innate organic qualities. Certainly there *seems* to be much more vigorous response to tests by Japanese and Jewish groups than by South Europeans or Negroes. The relationship of emotional attitude to intelligence remains more or less obscure.

In view of these considerations it is plain that any interpretations of racial inferiority or superiority on the basis of intelligence tests given in English must be made with extreme caution. It seems likely that substantial equality among North European, Jewish, Chinese, and Japanese groups is fairly well established. With less confidence the inferiority of the Negro, Mexican, and Southwestern American groups in the United States may be accepted. Differential political or educational treatment on the basis of race is utterly indefensible.

"Race Contacts Within the Schools." Miss Nora Sterry, Principal of the Sawtelle Boulevard School, stated that friction among racial groups is common enough in the public schools. There is, however, no evidence that such conflicts are due to race consciousness itself. Almost invariably they reflect the prejudices and culture patterns of home or community. The home environment is a particularly fruitful source of antagonistic attitude.

For example, difficulty of long standing between Chinese and Mexican children at the Macy Street School in Los Angeles was directly traceable to the Mexican resentment of the migration of Chinese coolies to the agricultural lands of Old Mexico. The development of a common school and neighborhood interest in pets and animal welfare led to the rapid disappearance of antagonism.

In general where children are genuinely interested in group activities of any sort, racial prejudice and antagonism die out very rapidly.

3. Round Table No. 3. CULTURAL ASPECTS OF RACE PROBLEMS.
Dr. Walter S. Hertzog, Chairman; Dr. William Kirk, Leader.

"Marginal Men and Marginal Groups in Southern California." Dr. William Kirk held that the sociologist, who undertakes an analysis of the social processes, finds that the elements in these processes of interaction are social forces within the human beings themselves,—subjective behavior trends or social attitudes.

The present paper attempts to examine the attitudes of marginal men and marginal groups in Southern California in order to understand the problems of the second generation—Japanese and Mexicans.

Assimilation as a social process is a series of changes whereby a person or group comes to share the memories, beliefs, sentiments, and ideals of other persons or groups. This social process may be clearly seen in the study of persons and groups who are passing through the various stages leading from one culture to another.

Children of immigrants acquire something of the language and traditions of their parents' cultural heritage, and at the same time they learn in the school and in the street to know the language, ideas, and attitudes of the heritage in which they have their home. The maladjustment and disorganization of the second generation of foreign born peoples are not only due to the absence of effective social controls, but also to the fact that immigrant families are forced into those urban centers where delinquency areas prevail. The American life with which they come in contact is least able to give them a clear understanding or appreciation of our best standards and traditions.

The second generation Japanese in Los Angeles are classified with the first or unassimilable generation, and are isolated from American society. Recognizing this discrimination the young people of the second generation have proceeded on their own initiative to find solutions for the many problems that face them.

The older generation have great respect for the soil and physical labor, and in spite of American influence the father's wish usually decides a young man or woman in the choice of a career. But race prejudice has closed the doors of economic opportunity and the young educated Japanese have been forced to seek jobs as fruit-stand workers, chauffeurs, gardeners, truck drivers, cooks, and house boys or maids.

Throughout this conflict of cultures, the first generation find strength and courage in the old Japanese heritage but the youth have been disillusioned and, in too many instances, have become cynical and embittered.

Turning to the Mexican colonies in this area we find that, in sharp contrast to the Japanese in America, the Mexicans are the least effectively organized of all the marginal groups. There is the same unfortunate conflict between the old and the young, but the Mexicans have been less successful in retaining the respect and obedience of their children. The young men and women are restless and discontented. They wish to break away from the traditional cultural patterns in their family life. The problem which the Mexicans face is not only one of adjustment to a culture foreign to their own, but one of preserving peace and harmony in the home. The Mexicans, because of family disorganization, poorly planned leisure time activities, and bad neighborhood conditions, show an increasing tendency to commit crime.

Over a period of five years the writer has attempted to record the race attitudes of college sophomores who have come from typical Southern California homes. There is a striking uniformity in the responses year by year, and the social distance, as measured by student attitudes toward the foreign born, remains practically the same. Invariably the English, Scotch, Irish, and Canadians are at one end of the scale where the social distance is negligible, and the Orientals and Mexicans are at the other extreme where social distance is greatest.

"Factors in Nascent Culture in Southern California." Dr. Constantine Panunzio revealed that Southern California as a region is a unity topographically, in contour, and climate; sufficiently large to support enough population to generate its own culture and definitely separated from other regions. Uniformity of surface and climate, however, robs the region of the variety necessary to produce culture, while distance from other culture areas results in isolation, tends to stagnate its native population, and to bring about too great and sudden severance of social ties in those migrating into the region—this partly explaining the high suicide rate. Climate plus the employment of the quick-profit-technique have made for a population increase of over 28,000 per cent between 1860 and 1930 and this rapid expansion has produced superficiality and turgidity. These

have also drawn an overproportion of the aged and infirm, an over-emphasis upon leisure activities, and turned the region into a vast playground. Leisure, however, if freed from commercialization, could contribute to culture generation.

The culture deposits of the "Indian" have been wholly destroyed; those of the Mexican nearly so—only certain symbolic, musical, dietary items having any influence. Spanish architecture, considerably modified, constitutes a characteristic trait of the region. Other culture minorities appear to have no major influence, save perhaps in dietary patterns, music, finance, and politics. The dominant culture is that of the *nouveau Americain*. It is characterized by a modified Puritanism and an excessive heterogeneity of religious sects; by variegated marriage and family patterns, particularly in the multi-marriage forms of Hollywood; by emphasis upon utilitarianism in education; an overemphasis upon recreational activities; and spoils politics.

The conflowing of the culture streams in the region offers promise of culture gestation of the first order. To the moment, however, the region evinces immaturity of culture; in its emphasis upon the grandiose, its imitation of other cultures, its rigorous suppression of minority forms, and above all, in its utter dependence upon other regions for leadership in all major activities. But maturity of culture is a matter of time and continuity of gestation; and this will come provided the region achieves self-orientation and indigenous leadership.

"The Contribution of the Foreigner to the Movieland." Dr. Christine Galitzi in summarizing her talk reported that the direct contribution of the investigation was restricted to a few insufficient and perhaps irrelevant statistical data. From the unselected, alphabetical list of 250 personal data of producers and writers¹ 50 per cent were foreigners, judged by their country of birth. The foreign actors represented 27.31 per cent of the total of 637 actors, whose names figure in the World Film Encyclopaedia. Among these the foreign men actors formed 32.50 per cent of the male group, whereas the foreign actresses formed 20.71 per cent of the women artists. As to the "extras" and "lance-players," registered at the Hollywood Central Casting Bureau, it has been impossible to discover their

¹ The World Film Encyclopaedia, edited by Clarence Winchester (London: The Amalgamated Press, Ltd., 1933) pp. 27-181, and from the files of the Hollywood Central Casting Bureau.

nationality, which does not figure on the individual cards. A new classification, interesting to the sociologists, according to anthropological or racial types is resorted to. Thus from a grand total of 13,993 "extras" studied, men and women employed for their qualification as to dress or character, only 8.08 per cent were classified as "foreign types," irrespective of their American or foreign citizenship.

The other tangible contribution of this sketchy, cursory study, derived from both the perusal of literature on this subject and personal interviews with competent persons, is the liberalism of the American motion picture industry. This liberalism is disclosed not only in the employment of foreigners, controlled only by the general immigration laws, but also by the unrestricted exhibition of foreign films such as *F. P. 1*, *Henry VIII*, *Red Head*, *Maedchen in Uniform*. European legislation regulates the motion picture industry. Since 1931 the multiplication of "Quota Laws" on foreign films, such as those of Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy,² to cite but a few, discloses a double tendency: a trend towards the nationalization of the exhibition and production of films, and an increasing public control of the industry through censorship of both the national and international industry. The American industry is hampered neither by laws restricting the production of films in the hands of 100 per cent Americans, nor by legislation limiting the number of foreign films per day, per theater, and per city, as is the case of the French Quota Law on Foreign Films. The liberalism of the American industry can be attributed either to the international character of the motion picture art, equally appealing to the American and world-wide audiences, whose approximate weekly attendance is 185,000,000, or to the broadmindedness and international outlook.

4. Round Table No. 4. ECOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF RACE PROBLEMS.
Dr. George M. McBride, Chairman; Dr. Erle Fiske Young, Leader.

"Ecological Approach to Race Relations." Dr. Erle F. Young, in presenting this report of the ecological techniques applicable to the study of racial relations, stated that map spotting of residences of racial groups makes the location and study of racial areas a matter of precision. The centers of the areas and the dispersion about these centers can then be determined by the application of well known

² United States Department of Commerce: "European Motion Picture Industry in 1932," Trade Information Bulletin No. 815, Washington, D.C.

statistical devices. By these methods ecological "snap-shots" can be made. A series of such pictures can then be used to study racial movements, invasions, succession, and the like. The elaboration of these techniques is still to occur. However, racial distributions are peculiarly susceptible to such cartographic analysis since the social distances between races are strongly reflected in geographic distances, particularly under urban conditions.

Max Bond, Rosenwald Research Fellow, presented a careful ecological study of the Negro in Los Angeles. The dynamic character of racial movements overrides arbitrary and legal restrictions to racial invasion. The techniques by which racial minorities capture new areas, when the pressure in the older colonies becomes intolerable, and by which they survive under adverse conditions, produce characteristic ecological phenomena.

Striking results were obtained by H. Earl Pemberton, Fellow in Sociology at the University of Southern California, in the study of culture levels by the use of gradients. In the case of both state and county culture level indices it was possible to discover centers from which gradients radiate in many directions. The various statistical refinements of the raw data which are necessary in order to uncover these gradients were discussed. While little direct application of this technique has yet been made to the study of race relations, it suggests many possibilities to the human ecologist.

5. Round Table No. 5. PROBLEMS OF THE SECOND GENERATION.
Mr. George Gleason, Chairman; Dr. Kazuo Kawai, Leader.

"Social Bases of the Generation Problem." This paper was presented by Tsutomu Obana, who has been associated as field worker with several of the recent studies of the Japanese in California, and laid the factual bases for the discussion which followed. Taking the Japanese group as a typical sample exemplifying the problems common to all second generation groups, the paper contrasted the Japanese second generation with the first generation in respect to geographic distribution, age composition, sex ratio, occupational conditions, legal status, and hinted at some of the social problems resulting therefrom.

Mrs. Helen Quin Kong presented the situation of the second generation Chinese, showing the general similarity between the Chinese and Japanese groups, but also noting a few particulars in which they differed.

The discussion which followed was aided greatly by contributions from several prominent members of the second generation and from social workers with long experience in the second generation community.

The group attempted first to determine what constitutes the most important problems of the second generation. There was no unanimity, but it seemed to be fairly well agreed upon that the most important ones were: (1) parent-child conflict, (2) lack of vocational opportunities, (3) social distance from native white society.

The natural conflict between parent and child in any society was found to be extremely accentuated in immigrant society. The first generation parents tend to retain the culture of the homeland with relatively little modification, whereas their children, surrounded by the dominant American society, educated in American schools, keenly sensitive to American currents of thought, become typically American in custom, ideals, and manner of thinking. The inability of the parents to speak English satisfactorily and the children's inability to speak anything but English satisfactorily makes misunderstanding and conflict almost inevitable.

The vocational problem, though not immediately acute, was judged to be of great importance. Most second generation people are not content to remain in the same vocational status as their immigrant parents and expect opportunities in the fields for which their superior education and training have fitted them. Due to race prejudice, however, they find themselves distinctly limited in the matter of occupations open to them. This condition leads to great mental and emotional distress and often to actual economic suffering.

Although the second generation group are predominantly American in their characteristics, differences in physical appearance and slight cultural differences arising from social segregation serve to cause a distinct social distance to exist between them and the dominant white society. Some of the factors contributing to this social distance were analyzed as: economic competition, fear of intermarriage, prejudice based on narrow patriotism, ignorance, et cetera.

The group finally discussed possible methods of solving these problems. With respect to the vocational problem, after rapidly surveying various lines of work, the group agreed that directive agencies to study vocational opportunities and to offer guidance are most urgently needed. With respect to both the parent-child conflict and

the problem of social distance, the group agreed that educational activities are fundamental in any attempt at solution, and made several suggestions regarding channels and methods through which this work could be encouraged. Because of the lack of time, most of the suggestions necessarily were of a general character. The group strongly felt the need of more time in which to elaborate these suggestions into more specific and practical form.

6. Round Table No. 6. SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY. Dr. Walter G. Beach, Chairman; Dr. Clarence M. Case, Leader.

"The Biological Basis of Society." Dr. John E. Boodin of the University of California at Los Angeles declared that we must recover the feeling of the unity of nature and view life as rooted in nature, and society as rooted in life. We no longer look upon nature as the accidental collocation of inert lumps but as manifesting infinite sensitiveness, selectiveness, and architectural constructiveness. Evolution must be viewed as a whole-making process—from the atom to human society. Just as an atom is a whole, a gestalt, and not a mere collection of electrons, and as a molecule is a whole and not a mere collection of atoms, and as a cell is a whole and not a mere collection of chemical elements, and as a multicellular organism is a whole and not a mere collection of cells, so the psychological group is a gestalt and not a mere collection of individuals. The gestalt of the psychological group is not an entity existing apart from the individuals any more than the gestalt of H_2O exists apart from hydrogen and oxygen. The gestalt in either case is realized only in its milieu in nature. But it makes this milieu a unique whole with distinctive characteristics of its own which are not those of the ingredients. Society must be regarded as a living group and part of the urge of life for maintenance and for fuller life. In this light we must understand the evolution of custom and of social institutions. Nature is achieving in human life a new whole-form in which time has a vastly greater significance than in life below man. While the life of the insect (as we now find it) is apparently organically complete so that the cycle of its gestalt is indicated in its biological heredity, human life starts with a gestalt which, if viewed without reference to time, is largely a blank. Its specialization of instincts lies in the future: in its interactions with its milieu and more specifically its social milieu. Moreover, the life of man must experiment consciously to discover new group patterns to satisfy the demands

of life in its growing complexity. The group pattern of man is not prescribed by biological heredity as the group patterns of life, below man, now seem to be. It is experimental and must be discovered by the genius of man. But the viable pattern of harmonious living together in a psychological group is not arbitrary but something to be discovered as truly as the viable pattern of a molecule. There is, no doubt, a difference in the texture of the biological life of man, but this can be known only in its creative interactions, and only then if the milieu is adequate in its opportunity for responsiveness. The urge in man for social creativeness is part of the urge of life, throughout evolution, for the maintenance of life and for richer life. It is as the result of the social urge that life invents language as a tool for expression, and language makes possible the storing up of vital experience of the group as tradition, and this in turn makes possible cumulative invention and culture.

Pacific Sociological Society Notes

The Pacific Sociological Society held its fifth annual meeting on January 12 and 13, 1934, at the University of California at Los Angeles. The general theme was "Races in Southern California"; the president and presiding officer, Dr. George M. Day of Occidental College; the host, Dr. Constantine Panunzio of the University of California at Los Angeles; the chairman of the program committee, Dr. Martin H. Neumeyer of the University of Southern California; and the secretary-treasurer, Dr. Melvin J. Vincent of the University of Southern California. The five papers that were read before general sessions are published in abbreviated form in this issue of the Journal. Not the least interesting phase of the annual meeting were the six round tables, at which papers were read or reports given. A summary of these discussion sessions has been prepared by Dr. Vincent. They included the economic, the educational and psychological, the cultural, the ecological, and the sociological aspects of racial problems, as well as problems of the "second generation."

The new officers that were elected to serve during the ensuing year are as follows: president, Dr. Constantine Panunzio; vice-president, Dr. Erle F. Young; secretary-treasurer, Dr. Christine Galitzi.

President Day received a letter of greeting from President E. B. Reuter of the American Sociological Society which read as follows: "May I extend a word of greeting to the Pacific Sociological Society on its fifth annual meeting and congratulate you on the high character of the program. No other thing will so widen the interest in, and extend the influence of scientific social thought as the organization and development of regional groups."

Book Notes

PEACE BY REVOLUTION. An Interpretation of Mexico. By FRANK TANNENBAUM. Columbia University Press, New York, 1933, pp. 317.

One can hardly speak too highly of this book. It is undoubtedly the best current work on Mexico. It is written by one who has a deep and inner appreciation of things Mexican, who has caught the spirit of the Mexican Revolution, and who maintains an objective point of view. The volume is dedicated to Diego Rivera, "who, more than any one else, has revealed to the world the profound dignity of the Mexican people," particularly through his murals in Mexico City and Cuernavaca. These paintings present in a form that the average Mexican can understand, the life and struggles of Mexicans against the oppressor from abroad and at home.

A group of chapters is devoted to each of the following themes: race, religion, politics, revolution, land, labor, and education. Fifteen drawings, two maps, and a pictorial map add to the interesting character of the book. The style is direct and clear.

Racial divisions and conflicts still occur in Mexico and constitute serious problems, although the mestizo with his leanings toward his Indian mother's culture is coming to predominate. In religion there is a noticeable return to older religious beliefs and practices and to the religion which existed before the Spaniard came. In politics, government by violence has long held sway, a technique which will not be easily changed. "Mexico needs peace, and it has revolution. It needs quiet, and it has turbulence. It wants to work and play, to paint and sing, to live in joyous abundance, and it has poverty, violence, treason, and passion."

Land is being returned to the villages slowly, but perhaps faster than its proper use is being developed. Education of the rural districts is narrowing slightly the chasm between the city and the country. Labor has reached a well-protected status. If chapters on art in Mexico had been included and perhaps a chapter on repatriation, the result would have gone beyond the implications of the present title and have been a well-rounded volume on the major aspects of the remarkably interesting and new Mexican civilization that is now in process of development. If every thinking American would read this work carefully the cause of international understanding would be measureably advanced.

E. S. B.

LEISURE IN MODERN SOCIETY. By C. LELISLE BURNS. The Century Company, New York, 1933, pp. xv+302.

This work, written primarily for English readers, is designed to focus attention upon the fact that "civilization may depend for its roots upon the way in which work is done, but it depends for its finest flower upon the use of leisure." The author calls attention to the increase of leisure; the changing condition of living, especially in the level of common comfort in new foods and new clothing, and in home life; the social effects of motor cars, motion pictures, and radio; the diverse ways of escape, such as gambling and hiking; the increase of modernity; the influence of the woman's movement, children's leisure, and the revolt of modern youth. The new leisure, which has been acquired by the masses, is abolishing "the leisure class" through industrial changes, and is profoundly affecting our civilization. Will the new leisure make new men? Can democracy be civilized? The author feels that "the leisure of those who work can be valuable for the control of public policy, for the discovery of undeveloped capacities in one's self, for the creation of a new world to be enjoyed here and now." Leisure is being appropriated in a great variety of forms, offering a wide range of individual choice. Abuses of leisure are recognized, especially in the movie and the radio, but they are more than offset by the social possibilities. The increase of leisure and education as the major purposes of public policy are recommended.

M. H. N.

AUFSTIEG DURCH DIE FRAU, By MINA WEBER. B. Herder Book Company, Freiburg and St. Louis, pp. ix+141.

Miss Weber maintains that the woman—through intuition, love, motherliness, sacrifice,—strong ties to established order—becomes qualified to awaken community consciousness and create a community spirit; that she is able to put her personality into her work, and to create a minimum of social distance between herself and associates; that she is able to conceive the whole of life,—qualities essential for a higher level of culture. The book does not seem to represent any accumulation of actual studies of the contributions of women to contemporary life. It is based on intellectual, contemplative, and idealistic observations of the position of women in Germany and on casual references to the literature. The style of the book is highly static. One searches in vain for the materials which might answer the questions: "How do we know for what the qualities of the woman qualify her?" and "How can we measure the woman's contributions to culture?"

P. V. Y.

HEREDITY AND ENVIRONMENT. By GLADYS C. SCHWESINGER.
The Macmillan Company, New York, 1933, pp. viii+484.

The author states that this book is an "attempt to assemble materials now becoming available for a more scientific understanding of the interaction of heredity and environment to produce human characteristics, with particular reference to the light which this material may supply to studies in eugenics." With genuine scientific thoroughness she selects, interprets, and coördinates a vast variety of material bearing on the problems of: (1) heredity and environment as factors in development, (2) heredity and environment as determiners of individual differences, and (3) status of tools of measurement of (a) environment, (b) intelligence, (c) personality.

Though this book claims to be a reference work on psychological measurement and a summary of the studies of developmental origins of mental characteristics, it may also well serve as a collateral text for the student of sociology, as the author has set herself the task of reviewing numerous contributions of sociologists and educators to her field, even though the selections seem to have been made from the standpoint of a "pure" psychologist. The book is readable, scholarly, and though a reference volume, is original in its point of view. Long and well selected bibliographical notes accompany four of the five parts of the book.

P. V. Y.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF
SOCIAL WORK. University of Chicago Press, Chicago,
1933, pp. xii+751.

This report of the sixtieth annual session of what is now called the National Conference of Social Work contains six addresses given before general sessions and sixty-three given at division meetings. President Frank J. Bruno's presidential paper is entitled "Social Work Objectives in the New Era" and deals largely with unemployment from both remedial and preventive angles. A key sentence is: "We are working not in a world of poverty, but in one of great potential wealth, and our eyes are fixed on a society where the vast potentialities for production may be geared into the common good." Space does not permit a reference to each of the other papers, but it may be stated that a wide gamut of useful, up-to-date materials is presented on child welfare, social planning, public health, case work, immigrant peoples, welfare administration, and so on. The volume maintains the high standard of its predecessors.

E. S. B.

**DIFFERENZIERUNGSERSCHINUNGEN IN EINIGEN
AFRIKANISCHEN GRUPPEN.** By DR. SJOERD HOFSTRA.
Scheltema & Holkema's Boekhandel, N. V., pp. viii+214.

The author intensively and extensively examines the existing new and old ethnological, psychological, and sociological contributions to the vast literature on the life, labor, and customs of certain primitive African groups. He refutes the contention of earlier writers that members of these groups lack individuality and do not crave personal distinction, and strongly upholds the findings of later investigators into primitive cultures that these groups manifest striking degrees of individualization in social life, marriage customs, leadership, religion, prophecy, practices of medicine men, and witchcraft. The author also analyzes primitive folklore, songs, fairy-tales, proverbs, poems, and so forth. According to the author the fallacy of the older investigators is due to (1) the improper contrasts made between "Individuum-Gruppe" and "Individualismus-Kollektivismus"—which never exist in pure form—and (2) wrong inferences drawn from observations of constraints among primitives—which are not comparable with the constraints or lack of constraints in Western society.

While the volume represents a piece of library research—with characteristic German thoroughness—the author was able, nevertheless, to present his work in a very vivid manner and convey a certain stimulating enthusiasm for this type of scientific labor. He also shows wide acquaintance with English, American, French, as well as German sources, though one misses references to the extensive work of Westermarck.

P. V. Y.

LYNCHING AND THE LAW. By JAMES H. CHADBURN. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1933, pp. 221.

This book was prepared under the auspices of the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching. It discusses the failure of officials to protect prisoners against lynching; types of antilynching legislation; punishment of lynchers, and the liability of local communities for damages in case lynchings occur. One chapter deals with the state militia and indicates why adequate protection has not generally been assured. The last two chapters deal with attempted and proposed legislation. Federal legislation is not favored but state laws providing for the uses of injunction are commended. The appendix contains the various state laws on the subject.

G. B. M.

SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION. By MABEL A. ELLIOTT and FRANCIS E. MERRILL. Harper and Brothers, New York and London, 1934, pp. xv+827.

The authors of this unique volume have surveyed the range of material usually included in textbooks on social pathology. The treatment, however, is not the conventional description of human frailties and societary shortcomings. The authors have undertaken, rather, "to study these problems from the standpoint of the social processes which bring them about." They view "the specific manifestations of disorganization . . . as incidents to an underlying conflict of attitudes." The result is the most revealing and brilliant treatment of social problems, as a whole, yet available for the student. The authors can rightly claim to have reached their major goal: "to develop a certain conceptual unity to problems that have heretofore been considered in a somewhat random fashion." The bearing of sociology upon the understanding and treatment of social problems is shown specifically and in detail. In short, the practical social worker will find here the answer to the frequently propounded question: What contribution does sociology make to social work?

The social scientist will also welcome the well-nigh exhaustive review of the scientific literature of the field. The documentation is irreproachable. There are well selected annotated bibliographies after each chapter.

The style of the authors is especially noteworthy. It is at once simple, lucid, and forceful. The abstruseness and dullness which usually surround the scientific treatment of social disorganization have been stripped away. The result is a genuine literary production which has nevertheless adhered strictly to the facts of sociology. By this device the concepts of sociology have taken on flesh and blood, they cease to be mere academic passwords and become the indispensable tools of both the social philosopher and practicing social worker.

E. F. Y.

IMMIGRATION AND ASSIMILATION. By H. G. DUNCAN. D. C. Heath and Company, New York, 1933, pp. 890.

This book consists of two distinct parts, of which one deals with immigrant backgrounds and the other with the life histories of a given number of immigrants themselves. Book I contains interesting and valuable descriptions and accounts of nearly all of the different countries of the world. Even Siam and Afghanistan are included.

These accounts are usually presented under such heads as general description, political, economic, religious, educational, and social development, and immigration and emigration. More than one half of the volume is devoted to Book I.

Book II presents eighty-three life histories of immigrants, children of immigrants and grandchildren of immigrants. Most of the important racial groups are represented. These histories are helpful in unfolding the factors and influences responsible for the assimilation or the adjustments that have been made. Apart from the contents of chapters XXX and XXXI, this material is allowed to stand with but little analysis or interpretation. Each chapter, however, is followed with a set of pertinent and important questions, which will prove helpful to the student.

G. B. M.

THE METHOD AND THEORY OF ETHNOLOGY: An Essay in Criticism. By PAUL RADIN. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1933, pp. 287.

Various theories and methods underlying modern anthropology are examined, with particular attention being given to practice in the United States, notably by Franz Boas and his school. Due attention is also given to ethnological method in England and on the continent, so that comparisons may be made. The author shows how anthropology differs from the natural or biological sciences, and emphasizes its concern with the description of specific cultures, events, and individuals. While cultural processes are not overlooked, they are not stressed as characteristic of anthropology. The book is valuable for its indications of trends in anthropological methods.

J. E. N.

SEEDS OF REVOLT. By MAURITZ A. HALLGREN. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1933, pp. xix+369.

This Borzoi book is a popular analysis of the extent to which the various economic classes of the American people have been affected by the depression, and the reactions to these hardships. The author, an associate editor of *The Nation*, uses Marxian socialism as a basis for criticizing the class programs of reform which have come out of the depression. He discusses jobless self-help, organized labor, technocracy, Rooseveltism, and communism as ways out. The study is an excellent picture of the class interests involved in the present economic conflict.

H. E. P.

ENQUETE SUR LES CONDITIONS DE VIE CHÔMEURS ASSURÉS, IV. By GUILLAUME JACQUEMYS. Liege, 1933, pp. 96.

ENQUETE SUR LES CONDITIONS DE VIE DES FAMILLES NOMBREUSES EN BELGIQUE. By AIMEE RACINE and EUGENE DUPREEL. Preface by ERNEST MAHAIM. Liege, 1933, pp. 175.

The first of these two studies is a survey of the budgets and living conditions of nineteen working class families whose incomes have been cut off by unemployment during the present depression, and who are now dependent upon unemployment insurance. It is limited to families in Liege. Previous studies have presented similar surveys of the unemployed in Brussels, Bruges, and Antwerp. No conceptual treatment of the effects of unemployment has been attempted. The principal question raised is: How adequate for satisfactory living standards are the present unemployment insurance payments? The survey is of the budget study type published by the Department of Labor in this country and has considerable significance for those interested in social legislation.

The second of these documents is a study of large families as a social type; it was prepared under the sponsorship of the Belgian association of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population Problems. A large family was defined as one having five or more children and 600 such families were selected at random from the rural and urban areas of Belgium. One hundred and forty of these were selected for more careful case analysis. The important data on these 140 cases are presented as a part of the publication.

The large family is analyzed with respect to the occupation of the father, economic level, home conditions, health, recreation, and the rôles of the father and the mother. Families which are large by intent and those large because of ignorance of contraceptive methods were found to represent distinct types with respect to these characteristics. While little conceptual treatment is made of the data, the present work represents a point of departure for such approaches to the study of the family.

H. E. P.

RURAL SOCIOLOGY. By CARL E. TAYLOR. Harper and Brothers, New York, pp. xxix+709.

This revised edition amounts to a complete rewriting and a considerable reorganization of the material. The subject matter has been improved by incorporating the 1930 census data and material

drawn from recent studies in the field. The extensive documentation shows familiarity with a wide range of available data. The bibliographies of the various chapters have been enlarged and questions for discussion have been added. Considerable attention has been given to recent social trends in rural life and the changing attitudes of rural people. The literary composition of the book has also been improved.

With the exception of several new chapters on "the historical background of American rural life," the treatment is confined almost exclusively to rural conditions as found in the United States. As indicated in the subtitle, the economic, historical, and psychological aspects are dealt with as well as the strictly sociological, but social processes and sociological concepts receive considerable attention, more so than in the earlier edition. No effort is made to organize the material around a central theme as is true of several other texts in the field, but the volume is well organized and the treatment is synthetic. There is nothing startlingly unique in the book but the reviewer is of the opinion that it is the most up-to-date text in rural sociology now available.

M. H. N.

ANTHROPOLOGY. By A. L. KROEBER. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1923, with Supplement, 1933, pp. x+523, Supplement 32 pp.

This volume is Professor Kroeber's earlier work (1923) supplemented by thirty-two pages of materials giving "a summary of the new discoveries and additional knowledge in anthropology, 1923-1933." The materials appear in order of the chapters of the original edition. Among the new developments of the decade in question are: (1) the discovery of fossil man near Peking in 1926, known as *Sinanthropus pekiñensis*; (2) the development of new knowledge about the blood relations in the human race with four types of human beings being discernible, depending on the presence of one substance, A, or another substance, B, or both of them, AB, or the absence of both, O, in the blood which causes agglutination of the blood cells; (3) the desirability of doing away entirely with the terms Paleolithic, Neolithic, Copper, and Bronze Ages; (4) the tendency to shorten the estimates of the duration of prehistoric periods (Hammurabi is now located at 1900 B.C. instead of 2100 B.C. or earlier); (5) the discovery of an Indus Valley civilization rivaling those of ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt; (6) the absence of new "finds" in either North or South America.

E. S. B.

PUBLIC OPINION AND WORLD POLITICS. By QUINCY WRIGHT, editor. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1933, pp. xiii+237.

THE INTELLIGENT MAN'S REVIEW OF EUROPE TODAY. By G. D. H. COLE and MARGARET COLE. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1933, pp. xvii+624+xxiv.

AMERICA'S SOCIAL MORALITY. By JAMES H. TUFTS. Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1933, pp. x+376.

The volume edited by Quincy Wright contains the lectures given in June, 1933, at the University of Chicago under the Norman Wait Harris Memorial Foundation. The lecturers include John W. Dafoe, Liberal, managing editor of the Winnipeg Free Press; Edgar Stern-Rubarth, editor-in-chief of the Wolff Telegraphic Service, Berlin; Jules Auguste Sauerivein, foreign editor of Paris-Soir; Ralph H. Lutz, Stanford University; and Harold D. Lasswell, University of Chicago. The subjects deal with molding public opinion and with political and war propaganda. Herr Stern-Rubarth distinguishes between propaganda of a positive character (advertising one's own advantages) and of a negative character (presenting weaknesses of one's adversaries) and notes five necessities for any political propaganda; (1) a fixing up of the aims, (2) consideration of the counter-effects upon one's own compatriots, (3) the means to be used, (4) a stretch of time, and (5) utilizing of faults of the adversaries. Each of the lectures contains important observations, opinions, and other materials for sociological consideration.

The Coles make an interesting survey of current economic and political conditions in each of the large and small countries of Europe, one by one. Then they analyze the economic conditions in Europe as a whole, giving attention to the monetary problem, proposals for restoring the gold standard, the slump in industry, European agriculture, and wages. Political conditions also are treated as a whole in Europe, with fascism, communism, and socialism being reviewed. European international relations are also considered in terms of disarmament, security, the League of Nations, and the International Labor Organization. The able English authors of this book summarize the thirty-nine chapters by finding the troubles of Europe to be located in an economic imperialistic nationalism. Remove imperialism and build up a collective productive use of economic resources, and national hatred and suspicion will fade away. Can Europe build up a cosmopolitan socialism before "sheer disaster

overtakes the peoples of Europe?" The authors answer their own question: "We cannot confidently predict success."

It is significant for comparative purposes that the volume on social morality by Professor Tufts should appear just twenty-five years after Dewey and Tufts' *Ethics* was published. The latter volume was unique because of the extent to which social ethics was made central; the new volume is an applied treatment of the same theme. After answering the question: What is social morality? the author proceeds to consider a number of troublesome social questions of the day: leisure, marriage, suicide, moral dilemmas of business, property, the lawless strong, gambling, unsolved problem of intoxicants, prostitution, public and private morals. One of the most valuable chapters is that on "What the American citizen values." These values are postulated as: (1) economic power, (2) the sporting or competitive interest, (3) luxury for self and family, (4) the belief that every prosperous individual is thereby a good and useful citizen, and (5) the approval of the social class to which one belongs. The reader will find many of the other chapters equally thought-stirring.

E. S. B.

PREHISTORIC MAN, an Introduction to Anthropology. By GEORGE S. DUNCAN. The Stratford Company, Boston, 1931, pp. iii+143.

It is remarkable how many interesting facts the author has succeeded in packing into a small compass. The universe, the geological periods, the remains of prehistoric man, prehistoric man in America, living conditions of prehistoric man, and the various phases of prehistoric religion are among the topics concerning which brief summaries are made.

MODERN SOCIAL CASE WORK. By ERLE FISKE YOUNG. University of Southern California, 1934, pp. 266. (Mimeographed Edition.)

This is the fifth edition of a volume which first appeared in 1926 as a "Manual of Family Case Work." The subtitle of the present work is self-explanatory, "A study and reference Manual for Social Case Workers in Los Angeles County." The book has been brought up-to-date and serves not only as a useful compendium in one particular local community but as an example for leaders in other and similar communities to emulate.

METHODS IN SOCIOLOGY. A Critical Study. By CHARLES A. ELLWOOD. Introduction by HOWARD E. JENSEN. Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina, 1933, pp. xxxiv+214.

Professor Jensen paves the way in the Introduction for the main analyses by pointing out the basic rôle of value in all cultural phenomena, and Professor Ellwood begins his argument by reminding his readers of a European criticism of American colleges and universities, namely, that the latter train students "in skills and techniques but do not develop scholars." In his second essay the author urges that the ethical implications of the social sciences should be frankly recognized. The third essay contends that even Durkheim's objectivism was "strongly tainted with a subjectivism of the worst sort," and that Zeliony of Russia who outlined a pure objectivism or behaviorism had really limited sociology to what Bechereff has called a "collective reflexology."

The author then proceeds to state the methodological limitations of behaviorism in the study of human society, such as adhering to "some metaphysical dogmatism," stating its results in language "unintelligible except to the initiated," and offering "no adequate basis for dealing scientifically with the nonmaterial aspects of culture." He then moves on to show the scientific inadequacy of behavioristic descriptions of human behavior. First, they do not disclose "the true nature of the human social process which is essentially a process of intercommunication." Second, they do not indicate "the true nature of adult human behavior, which is essentially cultural." Third, they fail "to show the true nature of human institutions, which are essentially based upon values and valuing processes."

The main scientific methods in sociology are "scientific imagination, psychological analysis, and historical interpretation," and the submethods are statistics, the social survey, and case study. The concluding chapters deal with sociological bases of ethics, law and government, social work, and education, with one chapter devoted to a theory of social progress. Without presenting the content of the book further, let it be said that Professor Ellwood has probably made the best criticism in print from a sociological viewpoint of behaviorism and at the same time offered the best constructive presentation supplementing the inadequacies of behavioristic method. Whatever one's attitude toward pure objectivism may be, he will find this book full of food for constructive thinking if he will approach its content with an open mind.

E. S. B.

Social Drama and Fiction Notes

MEN IN WHITE. A play in three acts. By SIDNEY KINGSLEY. Covici-Friede, New York, 1933, pp. 137.

THE GREEN BAY TREE. A play in three acts. By MORDAUNT SHAIRP. Baker International Play Bureau, Boston, 1933, pp. 89.

Quite unanimously, the New York dramatic critics have agreed that of the dramatic successes of the present season, *Men in White* and *The Green Bay Tree* are plays that no one who is devoted to the theatre can afford to miss. And the reading of these two plays offers a real opportunity for using leisure time to gain psychological insight into the motivation of human behavior.

Men in White presents the problems of a young man entering upon a career of medicine. The usual conflict in drama is based this time upon the difficulties encountered by a young interne in choosing between a wealthy but selfish young woman and the desire to become an eminent specialist. While the theme, electing love or duty, is not new to dramatic offerings, this play gains a distinctive importance because from the social psychological point of view it offers an eventful portrayal of the impact of the social situation,—in this case, the hospital itself as the chief factor—upon the personalities caught in it. Here, we feel, is a genuinely interesting display of an institution molding the behavior patterns of a group of people who have chosen to center their life activities about it. The career in medicine is apotheosized for its gifts to the sufferers in the world; as the kindly old doctor puts it: "It's not easy for any of us. But in the end our reward is something richer than simply living. Maybe it's a kind of success that the world out there can't measure—maybe it's a kind of glory." In the end, the career wins, and love for the time being is shelved. Not the least important effect of the reading of the play is to ponder over the meaning that the play might have for young men about to embark upon a professional career. Surely this is a play that might be utilized by vocational guidance experts, for it points out with intensive realism the cost of the acquisition of success. University students of both sexes should see or read this triumph in dramatic literature.

As for *The Green Bay Tree*, here again is a play fraught with social psychological significance. While its theme borders upon the pathological trait of homosexuality, its development is so original that the net result is something eminently satisfying. The portrayal of the older man, who has in his power the younger, luxury-loving fellow, is drawn with consummate skill. The dramatic conflict centers about the choice between luxury and love. Whatever one may think of the male who prefers a sybaritic existence with the sinister accompaniment of homosexual attraction, it is impossible not to take recognition of the importance of the societary problems involved. Both novelists and dramatists of late have made considerable ado about it. Possibly, the problem is becoming more acute than the sheltered realize. If so, the authors will have served a preliminary warning to society, and society had best decide what to do about it. At any rate, *The Green Bay Tree* is dramatically powerful. The play is a tragedy for all those caught in the web of the action; the older man is killed, and the young sybarite is fatally doomed to follow in his footsteps because the lure of luxury has become more important to him than the love of a good woman. Those interested in the study of neuroticism will find the problems in the play significant.

M. J. V.

THE MOTHER. By PEARL S. BUCK. John Day Company, New York, 1934, pp. 302.

Mrs. Buck depicts the life of a typical Chinese peasant mother, toiling long, weary hours in the fields with her husband, bearing him sons and striving to please him in her simple way, only to see him, one day, leave impatiently never to return. To the outstanding character of her book, the author gives only the name, the mother. She pictures vividly her struggles alone, eking out a bare existence from her patch of land, defending her enforced widowhood in the clan, fighting her animal impulses for mothering more sons and rearing her children to destinies perplexing and disappointing to her,—destinies beyond the comprehension of the ignorant Chinese peasant woman.

G. S.

Social Photoplay Notes

Thunder Over Mexico has an excellent theme. It aims to explain the reasons for the Mexican Revolution that began in 1910. It centers attention on one major factor, namely, the oppression that befell the Mexican peons at the hands of the hacendados. The latter are shown as cruel taskmasters against whose barbarous treatment the rank and file of Mexicans revolted. As a piece of propaganda *Thunder Over Mexico* puts its finger on one large sore spot to the exclusion of others.

The photography is superb and the picturesqueness of Mexico is utilized to excellent advantage. Cloud effects add greatly to the artistic ensemble.

From the standpoint of social psychology the picture makes what in the reactions of many observers is almost a fatal blunder. Unlike *Cavalcade* which depicts horrors by indirect suggestion, *Thunder Over Mexico* goes to the other extreme of prolonging unduly one horrible scene by direct suggestion. The average observer, quick to sense the nature of a punishment to be meted out to the helpless peons, is forced to watch (or turn his head away) while the brutality is prolonged until it either brings adverse reactions against the whole picture and Mexico or else produces a hard-boiled callousness to human suffering. Instead of creating sympathy for the Revolutionists, unfavorable feelings and a deep antipathy against all things Mexican are unfortunately produced in the reactions of many who attend. If, as we are told, many thousands of feet of film were "shot," why could not a wider variety of the injustices that were done to the peons be shown? The closing scenes afford splendid opportunity for "shots" in and around Mexico City as well as in some of the picturesque Indian villages, where not only the arts and handcrafts but education as well are receiving a special impetus under the aegis of the Revolutionists. Instead of giving the somewhat erroneous impression that Mexico has suddenly jumped into an industrial and manufacturing nation of laborers, why could not the picture close with brief indications of the way the Revolution is enabling the peon and other Mexicans to express themselves, as Mary Austin would say, in "songs and dances, pottery-making and manners?"